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# Third World ministers discuss aid in Brussels

**Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger**

For some of the African ministers in Brussels for the conference with EEC ministers which opened on 26 July the occasion was an act of reparation for history. There were recollections of another African conference – that in Berlin in 1885 at which the European powers divided up the African continent into spheres of influence.

On this occasion, at least in the eyes of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU), the boot was on the other foot. This time it was not Europe, but Africa with its rich resources of raw materials, that was in the the stronger bargaining position.

However understandable this attitude may be it is not exactly very constructive. But the way about one hundred years of colonial history have been dragged into this conference revealed just how important the Africans, for their part, consider these negotiations. The conference could be the basis for the future of trade and development policy relations between Africa and Europe.

Europeans feel obliged to review their attitudes to Africa and to the Third World as a whole. This occasion affords them an opportunity to demonstrate that generous, open-hearted attitude that Europeans have always displayed when talking about European affairs.

These Euro-African talks will last several months. They are not merely a test of how prepared the African countries are to work on a joint footing and a venture in cooperation between the industrialised and underdeveloped nations, but first and foremost an examination of the liberality of Europeans.

The European Community has always had overseas associates from the moment it was formed. These were mainly the former French and Belgian colonies in Africa, areas in which eighty million people live.

Forty-three governments, however, are represented at the conference in Brussels. The circle of old associate members has been joined by African, Caribbean and Pacific British Commonwealth countries. This brings in another 120 million people. And so the EEC's policy of associate membership has been vastly expanded at a stroke with Britain's entry.

The Commission and EEC members consider association on tried-and-tested lines as being the best method of incorporating the new candidates. But they are quite agreed that all they can do is make an offer to to these countries. There is no question of imposing anything on them.

This is why the negotiations are being held with the African, Pacific and Caribbean countries as full and equal partners. These countries are quite free to accept or reject the proposals put to them by Europe and to suggest a different line, whether it is in their own interest or hot.

No country is going to be coerced into taking up a position that it might consider makes it dependent on Europe.

Just what the individual overseas countries will decide depends largely on the offers Europe has to make to them, and these are still somewhat nebulous. As is so often the case in European business the Nine are agreed on the menu, but cannot decide which dishes will make up the *table d'hôte!*

The French, for instance, are still very much in favour of so-called mutual preferences. This would mean that Third World countries would liberalise their import regulations for European countries.

Everyone in the know can see clearly that the French are thinking in terms of closely interlocking business ties with their former colonies.

In this respect Paris is not only contradicting the rest of Europe but also all the principles that have been applied in recent years to international trade and development policy.

The United Nations in general, and the world trade and development conference Unctad in particular, agreed long ago that mutual preferences would only create a new situation of dependence while at the same time hampering the industrial development of the Third World.

If the European Community wants to make any progress in its development policies it must reject this system. Bonn must exercise its influence in this direction.

Another point to be considered is financial aid. Under the old association agreement financial aid is drawn largely from the joint Community coffers, to which the Federal Republic for one contributed 260 million Marks last year.

Funds for joint Community development policies will increase rapidly in the next few years. But what is the nature of this joint policy? Once again it is France in the main that in recent years has taken the line that the joint policy should be "regionalised". This would mean that Community aid would largely be for the benefit of French-speaking areas and as a spin-off French industry would be a major beneficiary.

This kind of development aid is without doubt not the most efficient.

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## Schröder visits Poland

Gerhard Schröder (right), Christian Democratic chairman of the Bundestag foreign affairs sub-committee, and his wife Brigitte are here seen during a ten-day visit to Poland. In talks with government officials in Warsaw Dr Schröder discussed economic ties and problems arising in connection with the repatriation of families of German extraction. (Photo: dpa)

# Polish leader postpones Bonn visit

Polish Party leader Edward Gierek's visit to Bonn, originally scheduled for early autumn, has been postponed.

The Warsaw Treaty between this country and Poland has not been without effect. Trade and travel are on the increase in both directions. Warsaw press commentaries on Bonn's *Ostpolitik* sound a note of greater understanding.

But the outstanding requirements the two sides would like each other to meet are so disparate as not so easily to be reconciled, and this is a factor with which Christian Democratic foreign affairs specialist Gerhard Schröder will be confronted on his present visit to the Polish capital.

This country's major request that remains to be fulfilled is for an acceleration of the procedure by which exit permits are granted to Polish citizens who have applied to join their families already in this country.

Doubtless not all the applicants are Germans by extraction or native tongue, and in a number of instances the motive behind their desire to emigrate will merely be the wish to improve their economic circumstances in the West.

Applications are being considered by the Red Cross associations of both countries, the Polish authorities having the final say. An increase in the currently small number of applications granted would be considered in this country as a gesture of good will.

The Poles for their part mainly want compensation for victims of the wartime German occupation. Insofar as this is warranted by humanitarian considerations Bonn acknowledges the right as a matter of principle, though in many individual instances it may be at issue.

As for the sum total of losses sustained by the Polish people during the war the Allies ruled at the war's end that Poland had been compensated by its new frontiers, which represented a territorial gain of 104,000 square kilometres.

Within the framework of future economic cooperation the investment of capital and technological know-how by this country and the division of industrial labour are bound to benefit both sides.

Diplomatic negotiations and talks between interested enterprises are under way, but in the meantime Poland has further intensified its existing close cooperation with the GDR, agreeing to set up joint enterprises in the field of, say, data processing.

Poland's Szczecin shipyards, which are currently not operating at full capacity because Gdansk has more to offer, are to take on GDR orders, and tourist traffic between the two countries, originally allowed to a virtually unlimited extent overnight, has recently been rearranged within more realistic limits.

Ties between Warsaw and East Berlin have grown so close that in June editor-in-chief Wojna of *Zycie Warszawy*, the leading Warsaw daily, was sacked because of a comment on Germany that failed to meet with the approval of prominent GDR politicians.

Wojna advocated Eastern Bloc approval of Bonn's *Ostpolitik* as a (somewhat unrealistic) means of delaying the incorporation of this country in the process of Western European integration.

This view is certainly not shared by Party leader Gierek. His desire to improve bilateral ties with the Federal Republic is based on existing bloc relations, but cooperation with the GDR is still no substitute for closer ties with Bonn.

*Immanuel Birnbaum*
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 July 1973)

## IN THIS ISSUE

■ **FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

# Soviet leaders have misgivings about Brezhnev's ties with the West

Soviet foreign policy in the first six months of this year has met with the approval of the Kremlin leaders. General Secretary Brezhnev, who has been personally responsible for the broad outline of foreign policy, had the outcome of his Bonn, Washington and Paris summits approved in writing by the politbureau, the presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers.

Old hands at interpreting documents of this kind will realise that they are fairly replete with "ifs" and "buts," particularly as regards the long-term development of relations with the United States.

If relations are to remain stable and good, the official documents note, the agreements so far concluded must be observed to the letter. This bears witness to the existence of a group of sceptics among the Soviet leadership.

Western observers tend to feel that these sceptics are to be found in the vicinity of chief ideologist Mikhail Suzlov and Premier Alexei Kosygin.

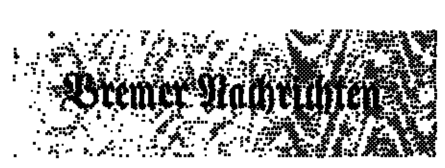
Suzlov's concern is with the repercussions of foreign policy on the Communist movement and Kosygin's mainly with economic integration of the socialist states.

These alone are sufficient reasons for the two members of the Soviet politbureau to regard Leonid Brezhnev's policies with a pinch of salt and a suspicion of criticism.

A number of questions are bound to arise among Soviet leaders who view their foreign policy with misgivings. Maybe President Nixon's moves are merely tactics designed to extricate the United States from the consequences of the Vietnam crisis. May not America in the long term be thinking in terms of an alliance with China?

Ought not more use to be made of the Arab lever? Is it advisable to take US economic interests in the Middle East into account? May not potential revolutionary terrain be forfeited in exchange for a rapprochement with the United States that is not necessarily a permanent feature of the international political landscape?

Might not cooperation with the West lead to disintegration of the Eastern Bloc




and the European security conference and all it entails result in a slackening of the reins in the Soviet Union itself?

The sceptics have arguments that bear consideration. The Chinese leaders, they point out, have continued with their hard-line approach to Soviet foreign policy — and may well have American backing in so doing. Soviet relations with the Arab world are not what they were, either.

They can also point out that there is a growing tendency in all Comecon countries to come to terms with the Common Market and to join forces with Western firms along Yugoslav lines of industrial cooperation and capital participation from abroad.

The sceptics can note, last but not least, that against the background of the forthcoming European security conference and the humanitarian principles it is claimed to embody the opposition within the Soviet Union, nuclear physicist Andrei Sakharov, for instance, is more vociferous than it used to be, say a decade ago.

Eastern Bloc sceptics are careful in their choice of words and there is no reason to doubt that Mr Brezhnev's position is a powerful one. General Secretary Brezhnev is evidently of the opinion that the Soviet Union has sufficient means at its command to control and if necessary nip in the bud alarming tendencies both at home and abroad with the aid of the military and security forces.

At the same time he feels long-term cooperation with highly-developed industrial countries to be necessary because the Soviet Union has yet to lay the groundwork for ensuring regular harvests.

Fresh contracts with American firms confirm this desire, and the development of Siberia is going to cost billions. Cooperation with US oil firms in the development of Siberia would seem to preclude the possibility of bringing simultaneous pressure to bear on Western oil interests in the Middle East.

Mr Brezhnev has thus had to encourage the Arab countries to exercise moderation on the one hand and to try and persuade the United States to review its stand on Israel on the other.

The capital gain derived from the ment in the Soviet economy has declined all along the line, extremely complex economic reforms must be undertaken together with the development of computer technology.

All this is essential if the Soviet Union is to grow more competitive in peaceful comparison with the West. Mr Brezhnev considers this policy to be a means of bridging a development gap.

He takes a sanguine view of the economic and technological potential of his country, but can only maintain long-term pragmatism in the face of powerful conservative forces at Party and government level provided some measure of success is apparent.

## Most-favoured nation status

Brezhnev's further course of action will be rendered considerably easier if Congressional approval is forthcoming in August in respect of the trade agreement, most-favoured nation status and American credits for the Soviet Union.

A good harvest, which is on the cards, would also strengthen Mr Brezhnev's position, the Soviet leader having a fair amount of personal prestige in the agricultural sector.

Were the European security conference to herald all-European economic projects Mr Brezhnev's pragmatic approach would have notched up a second major success.

As long as these questions remain unanswered the Soviet leader's most telling argument in convincing sceptics within his own ranks that the situation remains stable is the Soviet Union's undoubted military strength.

Viewed in this light it is only logical that Mr Brezhnev has tried to ensure that the MBFR talks come last in the current round of negotiations.

Leonid Brezhnev is a strong man but has his problems, even though they may not be the same as those of Western politicians who have so far been critical of the unchangingly powerful military presence of the Soviet Union in Central Europe.

*Heinz Lathe*

(Bremer Nachrichten, 17 July 1973)

## Third World talks in Brussels

Continued from page 1

The higher the contributions the more pressing the need for a worldwide Community development aid policy that is not bound by the old colonial ties, but which is guided by objective needs. A complex of this kind is being discussed in Brussels at the moment.

As far as can be seen something must be done to stabilise the world market prices of raw materials which are the factor by which many Third World countries flourish or languish. Stabilising these prices would be a major proposition, but could be a most useful instrument for creating a satisfactory development aid policy.

The European and African get-together in Brussels will throw out a line to the forthcoming world trade and tariff talks, negotiations for a re-modelling of the world monetary system and all conferences designed to improve the coordination of development aid policies.

In this respect the European Community must carry out its duties as a "rich man's club".

*Heinz Murmann*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 27 July 1973)

## M. Pompidou voices doubts about Europe's defence potential

Paris has rediscovered the Berlin Wall. Not, of course, that the French government has ever completely lost sight of it, but at a time when France felt itself to be a precursor of detente in Europe the shots fired by GDR border guards at refugees did not exactly make headline news.

A greater hue and cry has been made in the French capital about the incident at the Berlin Wall in the French sector on 8 July than about all previous occasions when fire has been opened on would-be refugees.

The shooting provided convenient background music for French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert's Helsinki speech in which he sounded a warning note about harbouring illusions regarding East-West relations.

Headlines such as "Vopos sabotage Helsinki" were one of France's counters to Eastern allegations that Paris has of late slammed on the anchors in respect of detente.

This reaction in the French capital does not come as a coincidence. It is symptomatic of a change of mind on the part of the French leaders. The dollar crisis and rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Union have plunged the government and much of the Opposition into profound scepticism about the further development of world affairs.

After a few sparing comments to the Council of Ministers President Pompidou confided his fears to four journalists. What he had to say sounded somewhat dramatic and can be summarised almost verbatim as follows: —

If monetary matters are not set right by next spring the entire economic system of the West may collapse. It is thus incumbent on European statesmen to agree on a joint approach to the problem and ward off the threat.

Should they fail to do so international trade will come to a standstill and large-scale unemployment and the threat of serious social conflict may well result.

Gerneral Secretary Brezhnev and President Nixon having decided to prevent a nuclear holocaust if at all possible, the US nuclear shield no longer affords Europe protection. Yet if Europe is to defend itself there must first be political integration.

Anglo-French nuclear cooperation presents far too tough problems, and were the MBFR talks to herald a phase-out of US troops the Germans would be sorely tempted to cast European security to the winds and negotiate some kind of reunification with the Russians in return for the neutralisation of Central Europe.

Soviet policy, M. Pompidou concluded, "remains a river that flows round obstacles, heading irresistibly towards the sea."

After comments such as these, one might fancy, all that remains of General de Gaulle's erstwhile foreign policy is his fear of the great powers doing a Yalta on the rest. Certainly, nothing remains of the efforts the General undertook to avert this threat.

In well-informed circles it is frankly conceded that French foreign policy has reached a turning-point. But which way is it to turn?

Were M. Pompidou's worst fears founded and Europe to be deserted by the United States overnight, left to its own devices, threatened by the Soviet Union and reduced to the coastal countries by Bonn going it alone, the situation would be hopeless indeed.

French pessimism has not yet quite reached this pitch, though, particularly as regards the view taken of foreign policy trends in Bonn. In their mind's eye the French are running through the Bonn leadership for firm supporters of orientation towards the West.

Walter Scheel, Helmut Schmidt, Georg Leber, one name after another. Willy Brandt, sad to say, is a more uncertain prospect, what with Egon Bahr, his Ostpolitik adviser, and so on, some say.

M. Jobert's warning that Europe might suddenly find itself without adequate defence capacity was mainly aimed at this country, and the point is increasingly being hammered home. He is reputed to be disappointed at the lack of response, but ought hardly to be surprised.

To complete the picture of confusion surrounding French foreign policy, President Pompidou continues to adopt an entirely Gaullist approach to Europe. Common foreign and defence policies remain, he feels, inopportune for the time being.

*Ernst Weisenfeld*

(Die Zeit, 20 July 1973)

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■ **POLITICS**

# CDU slump is part of general decline in Christian Democracy

Since it took its place on the Opposition benches in 1969 the CDU/CSU alliance has quite openly discussed the sad situation in which it finds itself. It has done so almost with pride of possession and self-satisfaction — a political martyr.

But the Christian Democrats and Christian Socialists, along with the members of the public in the Federal Republic closest to the parties, are overlooking the fact that the reasons for the parties' decline and fall are not specific to them.

They are not the only ones who have grounds for bemoaning the widely known political and intellectual weaknesses of their leadership. It is not they alone who have had to sit back and satch as the ideological justification for their existence melts away. There are others who can, like them, complain about a lack of attractiveness among the younger members of society and those in the media whose words help to form opinions.

The crisis in the CDU/CSU is not so special or so interesting that it can be taken as a permanent subject for discussions in this country.

The fact is that all over Europe Christian Democracy is on the slide. Its decline has been in progress for many years.

Christian Democratic parties helped forge the fate of the new Europe after the War. In retrospect the Christian Democratic parties that had the say in the first postwar phase were to be found in those countries that formed the core of European unity.

They were *Democrazia Cristiana* (DC) in Italy, *Le Mouvement Républicain Populaire* (MRP) in France, the Christian Social People's Party in Belgium, the three Church parties in The Netherlands and the CDU and CSU in this country.

The Austrian People's Party and the Swiss Catholic party can be reckoned in with these Christian Democrats.

These Christian Democratic parties brought forth the three statesmen — Adenauer, de Gasperi and Schumann — who first undertook joint policies with the idea in mind of creating institutional unity in Europe.

Even if one takes into consideration the work carried out by liberals and socialists, such as the Belgian Paul-Henri Spaak, towards European unity it is still true that Christian Democracy produced the classic EEC parties.

They were EEC parties in that they thought beyound their national boundaries, but it is equally true to say they were European in respect of the fact that their foreign policy range in the golden days remained limited to thoughts of integration of the Six into a Common Market.

Apart from that they relied on the American superpower for defence and did not pursue any policies of their own with regard to the communist East of Europe, nor to the welfare of the world's underdeveloped nations.

It is not a coincidence that the decline of Christian Democracy began, or began to become obvious, at the time when General de Gaulle took over power in France, and in the United States President John F. Kennedy started to introduce, like de Gaulle, a policy of détente with the East.

At a stroke the central point of the Christian Democrats' policy had been undermined. It was with grudging hesitation, and in the end at much too late a date, that the Christian Democrats realised the need to bring the countries they governed into the détente camp. When they did it was by means of the hand-me-down methods of bilateral agreements and not as part of a Western European bloc.

Adenauer revealed his policy for Europe at the first meeting with President de Gaulle in Rambouillet, but voiced his opposition to the East Bloc policies cherished by those who were to be his successors, Ludwig Erhard and Gerhard Schröder, and thereby paved the way for the Grand Coalition, an alliance of the major parties, something which had been fought against since the Federal Republic was founded. And the Grand Coalition, as we now know, was the preparatory stage for the usurpation of the CDU/CSU by an SPD-led government.

In France the MRP simply wilted and shrivelled up under the blazing heat of Gaullism. And Italy's Christian Democrat party had already begun to fragment into rival factions.

In the case of Italy's Christian Democracy an even more decisive factor in the decline may have been the disappearance of the political Catholicism which had been so powerful and intellectually so respectable in the nineteenth century. In the following years, and particularly after the Second Vatican Council, this was to prove very damaging to other Christian parties as well.

The Church organisation continued to flourish as did various Catholic associations and the access of the Church to the public remained unhindered and was used to the full.

But the conviction that the Church organisations should or could have a major part to play in political policymaking grew weaker.

No document of equal significance followed on the heels of the great Encyclica Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno after the Second World War.

The Agglomamento of Pope John XXIII turned out in political reality to be a movement in which the Church hastened to catch up with the *Zeitgeist* rather than the other way round.

The inevitable reaction to this, however, put the Catholic Church on the defensive. It sought a negative image as the eternal denier with a programme which, to put it crudely might read: no Pill, no abortion, no pornography, no divorce.

Apart from this the Church took a humanitarian standpoint, opposing racialism, colonialism and war — which any decent person is opposed to anyway.

Such a programme designed to preserve its internal integrity can be got away with by any Church for a time. But a political party, even a Christian political party, cannot get away with it for long.

The CDU, which is an interdenominational party, is scarcely helped out of its plight by the Evangelical Lutheran Church. The Protestant Church in this country is on the road to new profundity and the social activism of its progressives is not designed to benefit the CDU. The two have nothing in common.

Not only did the CDU lose its way with regard to foreign policy, but internally it has found it has something in common with the Churches to which it is aligned — neither has a real programme.

This is something on which the CDU/CSU must reflect. The Opposition must not confine its meditation to itself and must not continue to rely on the capital C of the CDU/CSU. Nor must it place too much reliance on capitalising on the mishaps and failures besetting the SPD/FDP government. It must inspect its own ranks, not the enemy's.

*Johannes Gross*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 18 July 1973)

## SPD antics could destroy popular support rapidly

Those who remember the low through which the SPD was going last summer will probably consider their present position relatively harmless. There appear to be no dangers threatening the parliamentary power structure on the banks of the Rhine.

There is no question of a general election coming up with all the fears for the future that that would entail. Most Social Democrat politicians have been able to go off on their summer vacations without being worried about whether there will be a job waiting for them when they return in the autumn.

A year ago party renegades brought about a rapid crumbling of the power structure. A premature general election seemed inevitable, as it indeed proved to be. But it was still not certain how this election was to be brought about and how it would be organised.

Karl Schiller left the SPD in the lurch. Quarrels and disputes within the party about the line the SPD should take helped fuel the fires of uncertainty about whether the SPD was ready to go into the election fray. Paralysis and resignation ran rife through the party. It seemed likely the three-year term of office was coming to an end.

However, the election campaign was fought with great determination and crowned with a memorable victory. And the party-political conference in Hanover showed clearly that Willy Brandt's party was able to control the tensions in its own bosom, as a party in power should be able to do.

But just a few months after Hanover even dyed-in-the-wool Social Democrats cannot deny that their party has hit the headlines again, and for the wrong reasons.

At the moment the party is not threatened with instant dismissal. Now we can see that power need not be lost at a stroke, but that it can be lost in small portions. A process of creeping devaluation of the mandate handed out by the electorate on 19 November has made itself felt.

This the SPD must fight before it can begin to accelerate the natural process of erosion to which every governing body is subject. It is not possible to escape shortcomings, objective problems and a certain degree of exhaustion in carrying out governmental business. But if the public confidence which gave the government its mandate is allowed to run out before its time then danger is at hand.

Despite all the startling desclosures, despite a discussion, at one and the same time honourable and shameful for the SPD, about the party's moral integrity the gravest danger for the party does not come from the Steiner bribes case but from the goings-on in Munich and Frankfurt.

It would have given the SPD some relief if Karl Wienand, suspected of being involved in the Steiner Affair, had been suspended for the duration of the parliamentary investigation. Such a step, which once brought respect for Gerhard Jahn, would also be regarded by all who bear the SPD no ill will as being still today a sign of good style and not an admission of guilt. Now we shall have to wait and see to whom most of the mud being slung adheres.

On the other hand SPD politicians should not be surprised if members and voters become irritable and restless.

At the recent meeting of the SPD voters initiative group in Bonn the party's supporters expressed their concern in a letter to the Chancellor.

This read: "The SPD has become involved in the latest series of corruption scandals. Party workers and friends of the SPD expected that Karl Wienand would reveal all knowledge of this scandal to the public fully and openly, and not in piecemeal fashion." This shows clearly the disappointment among SPD backers.

But, as I have said, the dangers inherent in this affair could easily be brushed aside. The SPD could be expected to draw the necessary conclusions from this object lesson for the benefit of the parliamentary system and in order to polish up its tarnished image.

The action group of SPD voters has come up with some useful suggestions, such as greater openness in the presentation of candidates to the public, publication of MPs' incomes and their sources and threats of impeachment in cases of bribery. If the SPD took decisive steps in this direction it could easily win back public confidence.

In the long term what is more dangerous for the SPD is the rash manner in which it regards itself as the only possible executor of the *Zeitgeist*, thereby forgetting its dependence on voters.

When Social Democrats, such as those in Munich and Frankfurt, take not a blind bit of notice of the voter and air all their dirty linen in public the position of the party is gravely weakened. A startling public opinion poll conducted in Munich has shown that there is already a noticeable decline in confidence in the Social Democrats.

If the public becomes convinced that the SPD's decisions are made by a more or less fortuitous lots of blocs formed on a local level rather than by the MPs the public voted in last November the damage could be irreparable. Do those who favour the imperative mandate, which involves MPs' toeing the party line whether or not it goes against their own feelings and consciences, really think they can turn members of the Bundestag into puppets without the SPD's losing much of its attractiveness.

Several FDP members have responded to this rumpus by reminding the SPD that every coalition has a breaking strain, the present government set-up being no exception.

We do not need to over-dramatise. But something must be done to counter over-exuberance and carelessness at precisely the moment the CDU leadership is trying to improve relations between itself and the Free Democrats.

*Gerhard E. Gründler*

(Vorwärts, 12 July 1973)

## ■ DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

# Disenfranchised journalist demands right to vote

**Basic Law guarantees all adult Germans the right of suffrage. But 605,000 Germans are forced to forgo this right. The reason is that they live abroad. But not all Germans living abroad are subject to this restriction. Joachim Rassat, press spokesman for the Franco-German Youth Organisation in Paris, descrines the fact that he is not allowed to vote as discrimination and has complained to the Federal Constitutional Court. The verdict could form a precedent.**

If Leonie Rassat wishes to vote at the next general election she would be advised to find a secretarial post at the Federal Republic's embassy in Paris. Although both she and her husband possess a passport issued in this country they are unable to exercise their right of suffrage as they do not live in the Federal Republic.

The Rassat family belong to the 605,000 Germans officially registered as resident abroad who are refused the right to vote under section twelve of the election laws. At the same time however the 7,800 employees of public authorities and the five thousand or so soldiers serving abroad are allowed a postal vote.

Dr Joachim Rassat, the press spokesman of the Franco-German Youth Organisation in Paris, feels that this state of affairs is incompatible with the principle of equality contained in Article Three of Basic Law and the guaranteed right of every citizen to exercise his vote embodied in Article 38 Paragraph Two of Basic Law.

He feels he is being put on the same level as criminals. As a self-employed person, he sees himself discriminated against compared with the employees of the public authorities operating abroad.

Why, he asks, should a businessman, journalist or sailor belonging to the Federal Republic's merchant marine not be able to exercise his right of suffrage in exactly the same way as a diplomat, an embassy secretary, his cook, or a member of the forces stationed abroad?

Rassat engaged a Cologne lawyer by the name of Charbonnier to deliver his complaint to the Federal Constitutional Court and propose an amendment to section twelve of the election laws.

But the mills of justice grind slowly. Joachim Rassat, who has spent sixteen years working abroad as a journalist, decided, in consultation with Charbonnier, to fight for his right of suffrage, if need be before the Federal Constitutional Court, as long ago as 1969.

But a person is only entitled to complain to the Constitutional Court after going through the appropriate channels and exhausting all other legal courses.

The 1972 elections provided Rassat with the opportunity he required. His demand to be included in the electoral register of the city of Cologne was rejected.

In order to hurry things along, Rassat and Charbonnier officially objected to the election results. The special committee responsible for supervising the elections dismissed their objection and the way was free for them to state their case before the Constitutional Court.

This procedure cost a good deal of time and energy but Rassat and Charbonnier learnt so much about the legal situation and, above all, the attitude of the legislature on questions of law that they were able to enter the final stage of negotiations with sufficient ammunition.

Charbonnier has written a 23-page document justifying the appeal he has lodged before the Constitutional Court and has anticipated and refuted a whole series of arguments that he thought his opponents might raise.

As far as if is known, the legislature defends the current legal state of affairs with two main arguments:

* Persons employed by public authorities have been sent to work abroad. They have not gone voluntarily. They must therefore be allowed to retain their right of suffrage despite their residence abroad.
* The government claims that other citizens of the Federal Republic living abroad are not subject to the laws of their home country. They therefore have no legitimate interest in the election of legislative bodies in their homeland.

Doubts have also been raised about whether elections can be conducted abroad. The Bundesrat, or Upper House, fears that action could be taken under international law if all Germans living abroad were granted the right of suffrage. A step of this type could lead to the election campaign spreading to foreign countries.

Rejecting Rassat's and Charbonnier's objections to the results of the last election, the Bundestag stated: "We do not need to examine in any detail whether the exclusion of Germans resident abroad from the right of suffrage involves any degree of discrimination. Comparison with other democratic States reveals that not all citizens are granted the right of suffrage . . ."

Charbonnier has refuted or al... rejected all of these arguments. He raises a large number of moot point...

* Persons employed by public autho... have normally gone abroad as volu... as the other categories of perso... practice, Charbonnier claims, p... employers have the same right to ... employees as the State.
* Charbonnier claims that the Bunde... *does* exercise executive power on be... of those persons who live abroad. ... laws it passes also apply to them. He refers to the income tax laws under ... citizens of the Federal Republic ... abroad are liable to tax on any ... deriving from sources within the Fe... Republic.

Charbonnier also turns to the ... governing military service to back ... argument. Citizens of the Fe... Republic are obliged to do mil... service whether they live in the Fe... Republic or abroad.

The reduction of the voting age fr... 21 to 18 was prompted in part by ... argument that any person obliged ... military service and, if the situa... develops, go to war should be grant... right to participate in political de... making. This argument, Charbo... suggests, can also be extended to ... citizens of the Federal Republic ... abroad.

Charbonnier does not believe that ... would be any undue difficulty invol... conducting the election abroad. Th... example is the postal vote grant... public officials working abroad. The... registered as part of the ... constituency.

Charbonnier does not believe that ... Constitutional Court will deliver ... verdict in the near future. He belie... has evidence that the legislature pre... delay proceedings and not pass ... judgment on the issue. While ... material to back his arguments. C... nier applied for the reports on the ... available to the Bundestag. His re... was refused.

*Thomas ...*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 24 July ...)

# Board positions in Bonn are not very lucrative

Posts on supervisory boards of government-owned or controlled firms do not prove very lucrative for ministers. State secretaries or civil servants. The government has a sizeable share in 760 companies and is allowed to appoint members of Bonn ministries to their supervisory boards. But up to the rank of State secretary the civil servants have to give up the fees they earn.

The only exceptions to this rule are the parliamentary State secretaries. Ministers are only appointed to supervisory boards in exceptional circumstances.

The regulations governing the appointment of civil servants, State secretaries and ministers by the central government stand in direct contrast to practice in Munich where Bavarian Finance Minister Ludwig Huber (CSU) is able to earn more than seventy thousand Marks a year by working on supervisory boards on the side.

Basic law and the regulations specifically dealing with ministers in Bonn state categorically that members of the government are not allowed to sit on the supervisory or administrative boards of any commercial concerns.

Exceptions are only brooked if the Bundestag approves. That is why six ministers sit on the administrative board of the *Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau*, a publicly-owned financial organisation that helps the Federal Republic's industry.

Ministers sitting on a supervisory board provide a reminder of who runs the shop. Dieter Vogel, the press spokesman at the Ministry of Economic Affairs, cannot remember his boss Hans Friderichs ever attending a meeting of the board. The responsibility is normally delegated to offical lower down the ladder. That is what Karl Schiller used to do. At any rate, Vogel adds, Hans Friderichs has not yet received any fees for sitting on the board.

If any fees were to trickle in – each minister earned an average of 7,800 Marks from these sources in 1971 – Friderichs would not be able to keep the money. The Finance Ministry too states that ministers are not allowed to pocket these fees – and that applies therefore to Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt. Colleague Josef Ertl has heard nothing about this regulation and consequently passes nothing on to the government.

Though the ministers are on the whole abstinent, Bonn's civil servants are far more eager to obtain a seat on the supervisory boards of concerns in which the government owns shares. Some of them have anything up to ten posts.

But these civil servants are unable to retire on the proceeds. The government strictly applies the ruling that civil servants are only allowed to retain a certain part of the fees they may receive. This ruling also applies to State secretaries and minor ministerial directors.

Under this regulation a civil servant employed by Bonn is allowed to retain 1,500 Marks a year if sitting on one supervisory or administrative board on behalf of the government or 1,980 Marks a year if sitting on a number of boards on Bonn's behalf.

The government is not much more generous to chairmen of these boards either. A government official is only allowed to pocket 2,520 Marks a year as chairman of one board or three thousand Marks a year if he acts in this capacity on a number of boards.

Fees range from nothing to many thousand Marks a year. State Secretary Hauenschild of the Research Ministry for instance is chairman of the supervisory board of the Atomic Research Association whose members carry out their duties free of charge.

The Land Development Association only provides the members of its board with a small attendance fee and travelling expenses. Lufthansa, VEBA and Volks-

Bremer Nachrichten

wagen on the other hand pay fees amounting to some 6,000, 9,000 or even 14,000 Marks plus.

Parliamentary State Secretary Hermsdorf has done well out of the present ruling. Because of the "parliamentary" in his title he is not looked upon as a government official and is not expected to pass on fees to the State.

As the regulations applying to ministers do not affect him either, Hermsdorf was able to enjoy to the full the money he earnt as Chairman of the Board of Salzgitter AG and deputy chairman of the Volkswagen supervisory board. In both cases the fees paid are way above average.

But a regulation clarifying the p... of parliamentary State secret... expected to come into effect in the ... future. A government bill al... submitted suggests increasing thei... while banning them from carrying ... any other job. This ruling would ... them into line with ministers.

The government, and not the Bu... tag, would be able to grant excepti... this general ban on occupying pos... on a supervisory or administrative b... In Hermsdorf's case this would mea... resigning from his posts on the ... supervisory boards or, like his colle... further down the scale, passing on ... of his earnings to the government.

The 1973 Financial Report publi... by the government in Bonn does ... provide any information about ... Bavarian (mal)practice whereby ... of ministries also sit on the supervi... boards in which the State has no sha... the capital.

The 327-page book only lists the ... concerns in which the State has at lea... 25-per-cent share, though not all of ... have ministerial representatives on ... supervisory boards. The report does ... list those concerns where the governm... share is of minimal importance.

The government only sends its ... secretaries on to the supervisory bo... of important concerns. It is ... personnel of the rank of *Regierun... Regierungsdirektor* or *Ministeria...* who represent the government's int... within these companies. Care is ta... ensure that government represent... come from a ministry with ... connection with the concern in quest...

*Siegfried ...*

(Bremer Nachrichten, 13 July 19...)



## ■ LABOUR RELATIONS

# 'Equal pay for equal work' has not worked out, women say

A woman worker, 28, trained and employed in the same firm for ten years operating semi-automatic machines, belongs to wage category IV and earns an hourly rate of 5.20 Marks before stoppages.

The fact that she is a *woman* worker is important. Her male colleagues at the same factory belong to wage categories VII to IX and earn between 6.35 and 7.82 Marks an hour before stoppages.

But she is a woman worker. She has only come to realise the full import of this since production schedules led to a two-shift system on the operation of the semi-automatic machinery.

She, a woman worker belonging to wage category IV, is relieved by a male colleague belonging to category VII. The difference in pay amounts to 1.15 Marks an hour. She then started working things out:

A difference in wages of 1.15 Marks an hour amounts to 9.20 Marks less a day, 46 Marks less a week, 184 Marks less a month and 2,392 Marks less a year.

A difference in wages of 1.15 Marks an hour means less sickness benefit, a lower old age pension and a lower disability pension.

She then asked her colleague: "What do you do when you are not relieving me for the second shift? "

"I do the same job on a machine in the workshop next door," her colleague answered.

This conversation took place during the election campaign when all politicians were saying that serious attention should be given at long last to sexual equility. Annemarie Renger had publicly offered to represent a woman worker before a court of labour in order to obtain recognition for the principle of "equal pay for equal work".

Our woman worker outlined her case in a letter and sent it to Bonn. "What can a woman in my situation do to end this *injustice?* " she asked.

That was in the autumn of 1972. Politicians have now forgotten about sexual equality. Annemarie Renger has been appointed Bundestag President. Our woman worker is still in wage category IV, still does the same work and still earns the same wage.

Apart from her another 39 women have come forward to take their case before a court and complain about this form of economic discrimination. The question of what women can do to end this injustice has still to be answered.

The Glauchau weavers were the first group to demand equal pay for equal work. That was in 1871. Nobody has paid serious attention to this demand since. In 1882 industry fixed women's wages at 66 per cent of the amount paid to males.

Why 66 per cent? It is quite simple – because women possess only sixty to seventy per cent of the physical strength of males. It appears quite logical – and fair – that women should consequently earn two thirds of a male wage.

But it only appears logical until we ask whether work always involves a physical output of one hundred per cent. The conclusion drawn by industry is illogical. It was wrong one hundred years ago and does not even approach the real situation today.

Industrial medics believe that male workers had to put between fifty and sixty per cent of their psysical strength into their work one hundred years ago. Today it is little more than twenty or thirty per cent.

Taking physical strength as a basis for calculating working performance is either old hat, illogical, a trick, a relic from the ideology of femininity or a combination of all these elements. At any rate it is unrealistic and unjust. But how persistent the belief is!

Let us therefore continue with our history of women's wages.

In 1896 the Social Democrats demanded equal pay for equal work. The employers took no notice. In 1911 women in industry and the first white-collar jobs still earned only 66 per cent of the male wage.

In 1919 Klara Zetkin called upon women to fight for the principle "equal pay for equal work". In 1925 women still earned a third less wages than males, irrespective of whether they worked in industry, a white-collar post or the civil service.

In 1949 Article Three of Basic Law ruled that men and women had equal rights. Nobody could be discriminated against on the grounds of sex, it stated.

But the overwhelming majority of women workers still earned 66 per cent of the male wage in 1953. In 1956 a court of labour described this practice as illegal. Employers were required to phase out the "women's wage". The court verdict marked the official end of the almost one-hundred-year history of the women's wage.

Since 1956 no distinction has been made between whether a man or a woman does a job of work. The only difference is whether the work is "heavy" or "light". The system of male and female wages has now been replaced by wage categories. If the subject was not so serious for millions of working women, the whole issue would seem comic. It could even find a place in *Sesame Street:* "I am Kermit the Frog. I want to speak to you today about HEAVY and LIGHT, heavy and light where work is concerned – or heavy work and light work. It is quite simple – light work can always be found where women work."

Take for example twelve thousand polishers on shift work. When women do this job, it is classified as light work and they earn 4.86 Marks an hour. But when the twelve thousand polishers are males it is classified as heavy work and they earn 5.75 Marks an hour.

Or take the manufacture of cardboard boxes. All its takes is a few deft movements and the worker can produce 360 an hour or 2,700 a day. This is what is described as light work – or women's work.

Exactly the same definition applies to testing fifteen thousand light bulbs a day, pressing the button of a semi-automatic machine 1,250 times or putting plastic cases on 2,500 transistor radios a day. It is typical women's work – and quite light. Lighter work cannot be imagined.

Employers answered the demand of equal pay for equal work by setting up wage categories for light work. The first wage and salary structure surveys conducted after the labour court ruling of 1956 revealed that the overwhelming majority of workers in the "light work" category were women.

In other words, there had only been a change in the designation of "women's wages". The difference between male and female incomes remained. This discrepancy has not changed. There is still the differential of almost a third between what men and women earn.

The discrepancy does not only exist when comparing the average income of women workers with that of males, or that of female white-collar workers with that of male white-collar workers.

It does not apply only to specific branches of industry or, for instance, in the retail trade. This discrepancy also appears when making comparisons within the same performance categories.

However much you try and twist the truth, there is no getting away from the fact that women are paid less than men, even though the term "woman's wage" has now been replaced by the light work pay categories with all the discrimination that involves beneath the surface.

In March 1973 deputies Eilers, Lepsius, Schlei, Funcke and Schuchardt, all women, put down a question in the Bundestag asking the government when it thought that management and trade unions would agree on the methods to be employed during a survey of the situation promised by the government.

This investigation into the light work pay categories has been planned for the past three years to clarify whether the term is only another name for what used to be described as women's wages.

The government replied that no agreement had been reached on investigating the issue and that the two sides had not been able to agree on the methods to be used to distinguish between jobs of work that were light, those that were heavy and those that could be described as equal.

This is the problem. It is so easy to claim that you are doing equal work and so difficult to prove it, at least when a person has the power not to recognise a survey and can refuse to accept situation analyses and the demand "equal pay for equal work" until a court announces its verdict.

The government has advised the two sides of industry to scrap the light work pay categories instead of examining whether the work done can be described as equal to that of other groups.

The light work pay categories would be scrapped if government advice were heeded but discrimination of working women would continue under some other name. The wage differential would remain and so would the lie that we all share equally in the benefits of the affluent society.

If no test case is conducted on behalf of women workers in wage category IV and the two sides of industry cannot agree on the methods to be employed when examining the question of equality, the only course left open would be a strike of all working women who are discriminated against and paid a lower wage than male colleagues. And women make up nine and a half million of the labour force at present.

*Luc Jochimsen*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 22 July 1973)

# Assembly lines

Only one worker in five employed on a full-time basis in the Federal Republic and West Berlin works on an assembly line, a survey by the Allensbach Institute reveals.

Asked whether they worked on an assembly line, three per cent of male workers and thirteen per cent of women workers replied that they did. The result of this representative survey reveals that assembly line working is mainly the department of women workers.

Classifying workers according to age, it was found that only four per cent of those between 16 and 29 worked on assembly lines, compared with eight per cent of the 30 to 39 age range and five per cent of the 40 to 49 age group. The proportion dropped to four per cent again among workers above 49. The five per cent recorded among workers in their forties corresponds to the national average.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 11 July 1973)

# Improvements in social welfare

A series of laws and regulations the government plans to bring before the Bundestag during the current legislative period should lead to greater social security and more social justice for all sections of the community.

Labour Minister Walter Arendt recently stated in Bonn that the policy of achieving greater social justice, strengthening the position of the worker and making industry a better place for people to work would be systematically continued. The policy was introduced when the present coalition government first came to power in 1969.

Arendt announced that the Cabinet would shortly approve a Bill to improve and standardise the regulations governing industrial rehabilitation. Pension schemes run privately by various concerns will also be given legal backing in new labour laws.

A law on the employment of works doctors and safety technicians has already been passed. Arendt states that this will now be supplemented by guidelines for the organisation of all places of work and the reform of legislation governing the employment of juvenile labour.

Arendt is convinced that some agreement will be reached between the coalition partners – the SPD and FDP – during the current legislative period on the major and still disputed issues of worker participation in decision-making and profits.

Arendt also stated that the old-age pensions paid to farmers would be increased and tied to the cost of living. The situation of people working at home would also be improved, he said.

He pointed out that the pension for war victims was due to go up by 11.4 per cent on 1 January 1974 because of the rise in the cost of living. An eleven per cent rise for pensioners is planned for 1 July 1974.

Speaking about one of the major aims of these projects – the standardisation and improvement of industrial rehabilitation – Arendt stated that the Bill could not be brought before the Bundestag during the last legislative period because of pressure of time.

Arendt considered it particularly important that the children and wives of persons insured under welfare schemes should also receive rehabilitation payments.

One principle embodied in the new Bill is that persons with the same handicap should receive the same proportion of their former salary. A standardised transitional payment of eighty per cent of the former salary – before stoppages – is envisaged.

The law, due to take effect on 1 January 1974, will cost the central government and Federal states 27 million Marks and the bodies and organisations aiding rehabilitation over 550 millions.

(Nordwest Zeitung, 11 July 1973)

# Part-time work

On increasing number of women are seeking part-time employment. At the end of June 5,675 women wanting part-time jobs were registered with Frankfurt labour exchange.

The demand for jobs of this type has therefore more than doubled since 1970 and has increased by thirty per cent over last year's figure. One woman in three seeking work in June wanted a part-time post.

But firms have not turned out to be any more responsive to these wishes and the number of suitable jobs has not risen as much as could be desired.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 19 July 1973)

**■ COMMON MARKET**

# Europe cannot afford to paper over cracks again

DIE ZEIT

The European Economic Community is threatened by a renewed major crisis unless the internal stagnation can be quickly overcome. The Community is in a desolate state. This is true despite the precision with which the European Commission and the Council of Ministers have carried out their most important tasks pending up till the middle of the year as laid out by the summit conference in Paris last October.

Despite these achievements Brussels and other European capitals are buzzing with rumours of a crisis situation developing by the autumn. The reason is the imbalance between the (satisfactory) development of Community relations with the outside world and the (unsatisfactory) lack of consolidation of the Community's internal affairs, an imbalance that has existed now for three years.

Since mid-1970 negotiations on the acceptance of new members into the club, the conclusions of free-trade agreements with Efta countries, preferential treatment agreements with Mediterranean countries and finally the preparations for worldwide agreements on lowering of customs tariffs and trade alleviation within the scope of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt) have demanded nearly all the Community's energies.

While the Commission and the Council have been tied up with such matters the last important decision taken for the internal cohesion of the Community was that of April 1970 on Community revenue.

The Community has not been able to escape the pressures on it to put its relationships with outside countries in good order. The admittance of Britain, Denmark and the Republic of Ireland has been welcomed by all Europeans as a political strengthening of the Community.

The free-trade agreement with vestigial Efta countries was a logical consequence of Britain's entry. But it is not only in Europe that the nine-strong Community now finds it has taken on greater responsibilities as it has grown in importance as an economic bloc and trading power.

Luxembourg's Foreign Minister Gaston Thorn warned that the Community should be careful to qualify as a negotiating partner when caught up in the swirl of negotiations. Such a warning to strengthen the internal cohesion of the Nine would be just as much in place in mid-1973.

Just how detrimental this lack of cooperation is to the image of the Community can be seen by a glance at one of the most important tasks that the summit conference decided must be carried out – preparation of tariff and trade talks within Gatt.

The preparations for the round of Gatt talks ended with a general declaration of intent which the European Commission, as spokesman for the Nine, will read out at the opening of the trade negotiations in Tokyo in September.

This declaration of intent is not "ripe for discussion" in the form in which it was presented by the representatives of the EEC to the preparations committee of Gatt.

The painstakingly prepared compromise – more a compromise on words than deeds, according to *Le Monde* – lasts until September. Then the debates of the Nine on negotiating strategy and aims at the Gatt round will begin anew. There is no question of this being "an overall concept that takes into account all factors affecting trade" as was formulated by the Paris summit communiqué.

The fact that the Council of Ministers could not agree on specific matters affecting this question can scarcely be passed off as a mere misfortune. The agreement on talks with Mediterranean countries is equally unconvincing. Where questions of development aid are concerned no agreement can be said to have been reached.

Consequences of the lack of cooperation among the Nine in the sphere of economic and currency policies are more than alarming. The first stage of the economic and monetary union which the Summit decided should be set up in three stages by 1980 is already a failure just a matter of months before the second stage is due to come into operation, 1 January 1974.

Hardly any of the good resolutions made for the first stage of planning for the EMU has been put into practice. The short-term coordination of economic policies has hardly got any further than the general recommendations made by the Council, and the Commission has reproached the Council for this omission.

The general guidelines that were laid down by Finance Ministers for government spending reflected national interests far more than the best interests of the Community, the Commissioners accuse.

The Community's stabilisation policy has flopped. Inflation is threatening member States with disaster, the European Commission warns the Council of Ministers. When exchange rates have been altered it has only been on rare occasions that European consultations preceded the event. Efforts to bring European taxation systems into line with each other have not progressed. And as far as the planned liberalisation of capital exchange is concerned more retrogressive than progressive steps have been taken.

And the very heart of the planned economic and monetary union, a joint exchange parity system, has not got off the ground. Not even the simplest initial step in this direction has been taken.

Only six of the Nine are playing ball over foreign exchange. A continuation of this state of affairs, the Commission feels, can only serve to strengthen divergent forces in the Community.

There are reasons for the discrepancy between the high hopes expressed by the EEC to the outside world and the grim realities of the state of the Common Market. Among them is the faulty make-up of the European Commission. It has ten times as many agriculture experts to administer the joint agricultural policy as currency experts to reflect on the development of the Community up till 1980.

Among the problems is the avalanche of hot dollars. Every time a few timorous steps are taken in the direction of forming a monetary union these dollars come crashing down to thwart plans.

When Brussels speaks of an unavoidable crisis in the autumn what is meant is far less one of the usual currency upheavals than a renewed outbreak of cracking in the EEC structure which has so far been hastily papered over.

The origins of this crumbling are to be found in the jealous ways member countries guard their sovereign powers. One of the main reasons why the harmonisation of short-term economic and budgetary policies has not proved possible is that there are no effective procedures in existence to force the European partners to solidarity and joint action.

Unless the powers to formulate economic policies are passed to the Community future meetings of the Council of Ministers will also produce no more than fine-sounding declarations of intent.

This country has now tentatively suggested that the deadline for the implementation of the second phase of development into an economic and monetary union should be postponed to allow the Nine a breather.

This time should be used to make up for the past sins of omission and also to introduce a definite bolstering up of the powers of the Community.

Paris has listened keenly to this suggestion – excepting that part which concerns handing over powers to the Community.

But such a transference of power to the Community remains the only means of making the EMU a viable proposition. If a crisis does arise in the Community in the autumn the only way to resolve it will be by a great leap forward. The alternative is to paper over the cracks again, but then the risk would be that stagnation would be replaced by disintegration.

*Hans Hagen Bremer*

(Die Zeit, 20 July 1973)

## Legislation to protect the consumer

In order to protect the consumer and ensure fair competition so as to improve quality and keep prices down the European Community is introducing a comprehensive system of merger controls. European Commissioner Borschette, who is responsible for question of competitiveness published the Bill to this effect on 20 July.

All mergers that will result in a company with turnover of more than 3,660 million Marks must be registered in advance. Only mergers with a cumulative turnover of less than 730 million Marks will be of no interest to the monopoly watchdogs.

The European Commission, as Europe's monopolies watchdog, will be able to fine companies between 3,600 and 2,660,000 Marks for failing to register a merger or for giving false information.

In the old Community of six the number of mergers rose from 173 in 1962 to 612 in 1970. The number of different manufacturers in certain vital spheres was drastically reduced. In some branches it was halved. It is felt in Brussels that the giant companies that emerge from such fusions can raise their prices at will without having to worry about competitors' undercutting them.

The EEC Bill provides for:

- A ban on mergers in the Community than limit or defeat true competitiveness. An exception would be made in isolated cases where such a merger would meet a pressing need.
- Similar controls on mergers between European companies and concerns outside the EEC.
- Registration of mergers that involve cumulative turnover of more than 3,660 million Marks. The Commission will have three months to take proceedings against the planned merger, otherwise companies can go ahead with their plans. If Brussels decides to take action its final decision must be made known within nine months.
- Mergers involving a cumulative turnover of less than 3,660 million Marks (but more than a minimum of 730 million) may also be declared undesirable by the EEC Commission

(Bremer Nachrichten, 20 July 1973)

## Quality of development aid must be improved

The European Community has decided to revise its relationship with the Third World. There is no doubt that the forthcoming rounds of talks will be hard going. The interests of the various parties are too diverse and hopes are too high. They go far beyond questions of trade, tariffs and development aid.

For the countries of the Third World Western Europe is a hope and a challenge. The misery of the Third World lies in economic and social underdevelopment, much of which can be ascribed to European colonialism and the heritage of colonial rule.

Even in countries that were not directly colonised the industrial nations of Europe, with all their technical advantages, regarded local manpower and resources as theirs to play with for their own political and economic interests.

Today the peoples of underdeveloped countries expect Europe to help them bear the burden that was thus imposed on them. Exploitation is to be replaced by emancipated economic development, they plead. Without this new relationship the political independence they have won for themselves is pure self-deception.

At the same time many countries in the Third World have expressed the wish that Europe should give up its role as "fellow traveller" with the super-powers and pursue an independent policy. In this way the Third World hopes that it will cease to be a pawn in the American-Soviet sphere of influence. For this reason Arab Mediterranean countries have demanded that they should be present as fully-fledged members at the European security conference.

Unfortunately the history of Western Europe and the difficulties it has experienced in creating a united Europe make such hopes and expectations seem Utopian.

Meanwhile the responsibility of the EEC towards the Third World has increased with the membership of Britain, Denmark and Eire. A bloc with over 40 per cent of world trade must have a vast influence on underdeveloped nations. But how is this colossus to operate? On a worldwide or "regional" basis?

France calls for concentration on Africa and the Mediterranean. The French want Europeanisation of development aid with the aim of encouraging other European countries to become more involved in these areas. In this way Paris could build on its traditional ties and at the same time maintain its old advantages.

The main opponents of the French idea are the British and the Dutch. They consider a worldwide development aid policy necessary and bear in mind the large Asian countries. Latin America, too, has registered its protests against the excessively narrow regional ties of the EEC.

Since the Peronists with their orientation towards Western Europe have been in power in Argentina this tendency has become even more marked. The Latin Americans are hoping for more aid from Europe so as to forge cultural and economic ties. They want to cut back their dependence on North America.

In the battle over the basic attitude of Europe towards the Third World Bonn is somewhere in the middle. This country does support worldwide development aid but is opposed to any move that would suddenly weaken the links with Africa and the Mediterranean countries.

Since it was formed in 1958 the Common Market has signed a confusing plethora of contracts involving various rights and duties with just about any country that has been prepared to sign.

Continued on page 7



**■ ECONOMIC AFFAIRS**

# Slowly but surely economic brakes are gripping

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Prices continue to rise. The purchasing power of the Mark continues to melt away. No wonder people in this country are beginning to ask impatiently when the government and Bundesbank's stabilisation measures are going to begin taking effect.

Isolated branches of the economy are already reporting the first signs that the brakes are biting, but by and large people doubt whether these measures are going to be effective to any considerable extent.

This mistrust has many roots. It is said that companies will press on with their investment plans despite the investment levy, wich will not diminish the level of these investments. Capital from abroad continues to flow into this country because of the continued export surplus. Most people in this country are in no way affected by the stabilisation levy (a tax surcharge) designed to cut purchasing power. Nevertheless wage demands of such a high level that prices are bound to be forced up as a consequence continue to be made. And as for public spending, the government has placed scarcely any restrictions on its own expenditure.

This catalogue of actual or theoretical developments undermining attempts at regaining stabilisation is indeed food for thought. This country's economy is still racing ahead at a great rate of knots, and it has not been forgotten that in the past two years stabilisation plans have been announced without much coming of them.

But the main doubt is whether a government that achieved popular support with a guarantee of full employment and for a long time refused to be bothered overmuch with thoughts of currency stability has really changed horses in mid-stream and seriously means what it says about protecting the Mark.

Observations and suppositions of this kind among broad sectors of the public and the business community naturally prevent any major changes coming about for the time being. Over-employment and inflationary thinking have become ingrained and there are no signs of their being eradicated.

An air of uncertainty is certainly spreading all the time, but the change in the psychological climate has not progressed very far. An additional factor that is so often bemoaned is that credit restrictions take such a long time to have any real effect.

Apart from the raising of interest rates other credit policies only affect finance houses at the outset, as the Bundesbank cuts their liquidity while at the same time the possibilities for re-financing are cut back.

Naturally enough finance houses try to make good promises they have made their customers before such measures were imposed. To do so they call up all the reserves of liquid cash at their disposal.

This can succeed for a while, but then they have to cut back on loans. Only when they do this is the rest of the economy affected. Yet the companies affected invariably have their own cash reserves to which they can turn. Of course these sources of much needed cash also run out after a time – and this is the phase that we should now be entering.

In the building trade in particular a shortage of cash has begun to make itself felt. Companies are holding back on new building projects and in recent months the number of mortgages offered has dropped considerably.

The building trade is a key sector of the economy, since many companies are involved with it directly or indirectly. Many concerns supply to or take deliveries from the building trade. About one sixth of this country's GNP is tied up with construction work of one kind or another. Weaknesses in the building trade should very quickly start affecting other sectors of the economy.

Other branches and individual companies are reported to be doing far worse than seems apparent to the outside world. Many companies which still exude an air of complete confidence are becoming to feel the tremors beneath their feet. They are deluding themselves if they really believe they are on solid ground.

When the economy begins to pick up after a recession there is always a time lag before industry admits that things are looking up. They go on complaining of their troubles long after the corner has been turned – and the reverse is just as true. In fact it seems to take even longer for companies to recognise that they are on the downward path. Current business is still good even after in-coming orders have slumped. The chap down the road may have gone out of business and there could be a few difficulties over payments. But optimism prevails.

Yet when the bankruptcies become ominous the mood quickly changes. Confidence is catching, but caution, reservations and worry are just as infectious.

What is decisive is the change in expectations for the future, which, according to Keynes, is the motivation for productivity and employment.

When the impression is gained that increased costs arising in the future can no longer be passed on in terms of higher prices (as is the case today in housing, for instance) and that further large wage increases could lead to unemployment then the first battle in the war against the inflationary mentality has been won.

This absolutely essential change in the psychological climate will most certainly come about if Bonn and the Bundesbank continue to make it absolutely clear that they will stick to the present stabilisation course with determination until the rate of price rises has come back to a sane level.

*Hans Roeper*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 July 1973)

Continued from page 6

Eighteen former African colonies took associate status.

The Community provides aid totalling 5,250 million Marks in two special development funds. Customs preferences have been introduced. The African continent and the Mediterranean States have thereby become a kind of natural extension of the Community. This relationship, however, did create tension in relations with the United States and the British Commonwealth.

The new Community of nine countries has a long way to go if it is to do justice to its commitments to the Third World, and it is essential that France give up its traditional special role. Forty-four economically more or less underdeveloped countries are seeking cooperation with the EEC. Their expectations are multifarious.

Two examples: Central and West Africa has been plagued by drought for years. The States involved cannot be tided over till the next catastrophe with a few food parcels. A comprehensive modernisation of the agriculture in these countries is essential.

Caribbean countries, on the other hand, would be quite happy if only the EEC would buy more of their sugar. However, this would mean at the very least fewer subsidies for Europe's sugar-beet growers.

Not only must the quality of development aid be improved – its quantity must be expanded as well. Not one EEC country gives as much as 0.7 per cent of its gross national product in development aid as the United Nations has demanded.

Europe's hope for the future does not lie in a concentration of power in the traditional sense. But Europe could exercise a powerful attraction if it threw off the last vestiges of its colonial past and gave developing countries a helping hand to build up a just social system and set an example unselfishly.

*Siegfried Kubink*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 16 July 1973)

## Bonn to boost investments

Government expenditure on investments is to rise to 35,330 million Marks by 1976, according to the investment programme agreed on by the Federal Cabinet and published recently in Bonn.

Material investments, which stand at 6,130 million Marks this year should rise to 6,400 million by 1974, 6,860 million by 1975 and seven thousand million by 1976.

Expenditure on military equipment together with payments for the maintenance of defence installations, standing at about ten milliard Marks this year should reach twelve milliard by 1976.

By 1976 expenditure on financial aid to other investors should have risen to 16,400 million Marks. About twenty per cent of total government expenditure on investments goes on purely material requirements.

Of this material expenditure over three-quarters will go on transport requirements in the period covered by the government programme. Investments in the construction of autobahns will swallow about half the total. Overall expenditure on road-building will account for seventy per cent. Next year 4,260 million Marks will be spent on road-building. 1975 will see an increase of 8.7 per cent to 4,630 million and by 1976 there will be a further 6.3 per cent rise to almost five milliard Marks.

This country's economy will be the main benefactor of the government's increased investments. Over 92 per cent of investments, on a yearly average, will go to concerns in the Federal Republic.

Most of the financial aid will be for public works. On a yearly average from 1972 to 1976 education, research and the sciences will be the main sphere, receiving 19.6 per cent of investments. Eighteen per cent will go to transport and communications. Twelve per cent is to be allocated to social welfare and accumulation of capital in private hands. Eleven per cent will go on fuel and power and provision of water.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 13 July 1973)

## No end to boom in sight, HWWA maintains

The boom in industrial nations will continue, according to HWWA, the Hamburg economic research institute. This year the real gross national product in the industrialised Western world will increase by about 7.5 per cent. This is the biggest boom since 1951.

The Institute expects a rise in productivity in the United States of about seven per cent. In Japan the rate is likely to be twice as high. Western Europe can expect an economic growth of six per cent. In Western Europe, too, the factors affecting the boom have been stronger than expected.

Rapid expansion in Japan, the USA and Europe will be made possible by the utilisation of industrial production that has been lying idle. A general exhaustion of production potential is not expected though resources may be used to the full in certain sectors allowing no room for further expansion.

This boom is being accompanied by inflationary tendencies all over the world. In most countries the tolerance level for depreciation of the currency once adhered to has long since been passed. But the stage of economic overheating has not yet been reached.

According to the Institute the rate of price rises affecting private households has risen in the past few months (compared with the same month of the previous year) by more than ten per cent in Japan, eight per cent on average in Western Europe and more than five per cent in America. The continued acceleration is largely due to the rise in the cost of foodstuffs.

Efforts to control inflation by price freezes, and occasionally wage freezes as well, have obviously been more or less a failure in all countries where they have been tried.

HWWA says that this is inevitable since policymakers have in most cases failed to accompany the freeze, which can only cure symptoms, with restrictive policies to strike at the cause of the malady. Obviously governments have been too afraid they will cut productivity and risk unemployment.

Pursuance of such a course would, however, not even prevent a further acceleration in the rate of depreciation. HWWA says: "This would presumably be followed by increased usage of direct controls, which, according to experience, would not solve the dilemma and would cut the effectiveness of today's economic systems, which are still by and large based on a free market."

(Die Welt, 10 July 1973)

## Price and wage freeze unnecessary, Hamburg institute claims

Bonn has no grounds for ordering a wage and price freeze at the moment, according to the latest report by the Hamburg Institute for Economic Research, entitled "Tomorrow's economy".

As an isolated measure the Institute rejects the idea of a freeze completely.

The Institute states that on its own a freeze would do no more than ease the symptoms without fighting the disease.

However, if the freeze were to be maintained over a long period there would be distortions such as the building up of "grey markets" and dubious or even illegal circumventions of the provisions of the freeze.

The Institute says that following the latest revaluation of the Mark there is less doubt than before that the government will hold fast to its stabilisation precepts.

(Neue Hannoversche, 17 July 1973)

■ ENVIRONMENT

# Berlin weekend motor-boat ban creates a stir

For more than 20,000 spare-time skippers and boat-lovers, many of them coming from as far away as Bavaria, the first weekend in July saw a bad dream come true in West Berlin.

The largest fleet of small boats in Europe was high and dry, banned from sailing over the weekend. The naval battle of Berlin began, with more than 20,000 motor-boat owners having to forgo their weekend spins.

Wannsee, the favourite lake of West Berlin's boat-owners, was out of bounds for motorised vessels for the first time ever. The idea of the weekend ban is to spare tens of thousands of bathers the noise and pollution.

Realising that West Berlin's 23 square kilometres of lakes were anything but idyllic and inviting for bathers, Public Works Senator Klaus Riebschläger decided to act.

When 20,000 motor-boats ply the lakes day after day it is hardly surprising that other amenities suffer. At sunny weekends the situation is particularly alarming. Motorised boat-owners roar through the waves, representing a hazard to other boat-owners and a nuisance for the thousands of people who come to sunbathe and swim.

Noise abatement officials have taken measurements indicating that Wannsee is as noisy as Kurfürstendamm, the boulevard that is the centre of much of the city's night life and a principal shopping street by day.

The noise on both is 75 decibels. The maximum tolerable noise level in residential areas is 55 decibels.

There can certainly be no mistaking the noise of West Berlin's mammoth fleet of motor-boats. It churns up a trail of dirt too, the mixture of water and oil being deposited on beaches that are likewise packed to overflowing at sunny weekends. Hundreds of thousands of bathers have good reason to curse the boats.

It is not merely a matter of Wannsee either. All along the tree-lined banks of the Havel West Berliners likewise try to find a secluded spot, but wherever they go, the motor-boats have beaten them to it, or are certainly within earshot.

In order not to annoy the growing ranks of spare-time skippers complete with outboard motors local politicians took care not to intervene. Each administration noted the situation, saw that the number of small boats was increasing from one weekend to the next — but nothing was actually done, of course.

As a result West Berlin's lakes became something of a sanctuary for boat-owners from all over the country, even including Bavaria. No one was discouraged by hours on the road and customs checks. At their journey's end they could look forward to pleasure unique in this country.

In West Berlin, you see, marine engine noise was permitted day and night. Midnight yacht parties have long been a speciality of the West Berlin jet set.

But Senator Riebschläger, 32, put a spoke in their wheels. On 1 July a new regulation came into force. Over the first and third weekends in the month the Havel, the Spree, Wannsee and all adjoining waters are to remain free from engine noise. Peace and quiet must reign.

From nine at night until five in the morning the use of powered boats is prohibited altogether. Dr Riebschläger's courageous move has the backing not only of the Senate but also of the Allies.

His arguments won the day. If all 20,000 motor-boats take to the waves simultaneously — alongside 50,000 yachts, paddle-boats, rowing boats and caones — they each have a mere fifty square metres at their disposal, Riebschläger pointed out.

The upshot has been that in one year the police waterways division had to deal with 1,200 accidents involving two fatalities.

Berlin has always been a city for protest marches and on this occasion too boat-owners took to the streets.



Motor-boat racing on West Berlin's Tegelsee (Photo: S...)

Motorcades in mourning drove through the streets, sounding their horns in unison. Boats bore posters proclaiming "We will fight for every metre of water!" But the Senate held its ground.

One odd occurrence on the sideline created something of a stir in the battle of Berlin between motor-boat owners and the local authorities.

Shortly before the ban came into force a man appeared at the Wannsee booth where protest pennants were being sold and bought the lot, paying 3,000 Marks in cash. Boat-owners suspect that he was in the employ of the local authorities.

Weightier arguments are fielded by the lawyers. A legal report commissioned by ADAC, the country's largest motoring organisation, comes to the conclusion that the new regulations are illegal because they impose a total ban.

Two boat-owning lawyers even argue that the Havel and the Spree are national waterways and do not come under the jurisdiction of local authority regulations.

The Opposition has also lodged its protests. Heinrich Lummer, Christian Democratic leader on the city council, claims that this decision is the first time West Berlin has gone it alone in relation to the statute and case law of the Federal Republic.

In no other Federal state is a total ban on motor-boats permissible even for a limited number of hours a day. The Senate, Lummer claims, has only been able to impose the new regulations because of the existence of confidential Allied regulations governing the use of West Berlin waterways.

"We have to do something for the environment," Klaus Riebschläger counters. "We don't want to be held responsible for what might otherwise end up as a cess pool."

*Peter Brehm*

(Münchner Merkur, 9 July 1973)

## Water shortage hits Hesse

Snow and rainfall have been below average for the past three years. Over the same period water consumption has increased by ten per cent. This is why there is a summer water shortage in many parts of Hesse.

110 villages and towns are currently affected, and Kassel is the first city in which a state of emergency has been declared. Fifty thousand people there currently have their water piped in from tankers.

Bans on watering lawns and washing cars have been imposed over a far larger area. Hesse's Minister for the Environment, Werner Best, has no exact figures on this score.

The situation is particularly serious in the Taunus region, where one suburb after another has been built in recent years and there is now a yearly shortfall of forty million cubic metres of water.

Best estimates that Hesse's water supplies will be adequate until the turn of the century, but one litre in three will then be processed from the Rhine. So the state is determined to act to prevent pollution of its major waterway.

Five hundred million Marks a year have so far been spent on preventing the situation from worsening. Hesse is now launching an offensive, investing 1,000 million Marks this year in sewage treatment.

The Minister claimed that local authorities were partly to blame, having preferred to utilise their own resources to the full rather than to participate in regional water schemes.

In small towns and villages in particular inadequate facilities have been provided. The know-how is just not up to scratch.

Towns and localities participating in regional schemes covering 62 per cent of the state's surface area and eighty per cent of the population are not suffering from a water shortage.

*Helmut Herles*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 July 1973)

## EEC plans united pollution clean-up

Member States of the European Economic Community reached agreement in Brussels on 19 July on the need for joint action for protection of the environment. At this, the first meeting of the Council of Ministers to discuss the pollution problem, agreement was also reached that EEC minimum norms should not be allowed to discourage nationally based clean-up programmes that went much further.

But the Council was at odds over the legal bases for the anti-pollution drive. France's Minister for the Environment Robert Poujade said that the decision on a joint campaign of action should not be made as a formal decree by the Council of Ministers. It should be treated as an Inter-State matter, he claimed. His reasons were that in this respect the Community was going beyond the bounds of what was contained in the EEC statute.

This conference was called in response to the decision taken at the Paris summit that such a parley of European Ministers responsible for environmental protection should be held to pass a programme for a campaign of action by 31 July this year.

The programme worked out by the European Commission in Brussels differentiates between measures to curb the flow of effluents polluting the environment and positive measures for keeping the environment clean and fit to live in.

Bonn Interior Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher took the line that the "culprit principle" should be applied at Community level, making the person or concern that causes damage to the environment responsible for cleaning up the mess.

(Nordwest Zeitung, 20 July 1973)

## Drastic declin[e] in bird populatio[n]

How long will it be before birds... only to be heard on reco... tape?" Alfred Zoll, director of H... brunn Zoo, Munich, asks, exagg... slightly, of course.

Zoll is chairman of the local society... the prevention of cruelty to animals. Munich has always had a soft spo... animals. It even boasts a monument... pigeons.

Alfred Zoll has nonetheless fe... necessary to launch an appeal on b... of our feathered friends. "It is a c... against generations to come for u... disregard the decline of bird life n... than do something to ensure th... remains in existence for our childre... grandchildren."

The facts are gruesome enough. F... per cent of the 143 species of bird that... and breed in this country are in dang... extinction, according to the M... society.

For the most part the cause of... toxic matter contained in ind... effluent and pesticides. In Hesse... alone some fourteen species of... including the osprey and the sandm... have become extinct over the pa... years.

Life has virtually ceased to exist at... of thousands of nesting-grounds betw... the North Sea and the Alps. Incr... numbers of dead and dying duck... being found along rivers in... Rhine-Main area, killed by putrefactio... the water.

There are a fair number of sp... whose eggs simply fail to hatch th... days.

The alarm has been sounded at... Garmisch-Partenkirchen bird sanctuary... Bavaria too. Sixty per cent of Bava... bird species face the threat of extinctio... it is claimed.

Water and marsh birds in particular... being deprived of their natural hab... and dying out. Eagles, hawks a... buzzards are also beating the retrea... their natural food and pastures disapp...

A number of species, on the oth... hand, are increasing out of hand... number, the natural system of checks... balances having been put out of jo... Enormous flocks of blackbirds a... starlings are descending on fruit crops... vineyards, wreaking havoc.

Blackbirds and starlings are also lea... wood- and pastureland and head... believe it or not, for the city lights... are already being followed by mag... crows, finches and even screech-owls.

Erstwhile country birds are gradu... becoming domesticated and popula... the cities alongside the sparrows a... pigeons.

*Karl Stankiewitz*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 7 July 1973)



■ SCIENCE

# Atmospheric pollution by leaded petrol overrated

We shall all be able to breathe freely again from 1980 onwards — or so it appears. By then the government plans to have in operation legislation banning lead from petrol.

The pollution of the atmosphere with lead will then cease and the way will be clear for a more far-reaching decontamination of car exhaust fumes by means of catalysis.

These catalysts, consisting mainly of platinum, will oxydise exhaust fumes by means of recombustion. Carben monoxide, which is highly toxic, will then be converted into carbon dioxide.

Experiments conducted by Hamburg botanist Professor Ruge and his colleague F. Steenken have led them to the surprising conclusion that the lead in exhaust fumes may have been attacked unjustly. They found that it did not harm plants at any rate. On the contrary, it seemed to protect them from further damage.

During their series of experiments a variety of plants were treated with lead compounds. Plants such as tomatoes or cabbage were indeed seriously affected by the lead. They did not grow to full height or parts of their tissue were destroyed.

It appears that lead compounds penetrate the respiratory pores of these plants' leaves. Black deposits form in the living tissue, the cell walls swell so much that no more air can pass and the plant rejects the diseased tissue by forcing it on to the surface where it forms a black growth.

Oddly enough, these visible effects of lead poisoning could only be produced by using substances such as lead nitrate and lead acetate that do not occur in car exhausts.

The lead contained in exhaust fumes, which is usually mixed with petrol in the form of lead tetra-ethyl, is converted in the process of combustion to compounds such as lead chloride, lead sulphate and lead phosphate and emitted in this form.

But these lead compounds do not cause any recognisable lead poisoning. What is more, the signs of lead poisoning produced in the experiments are not known in nature even though all the major highways of the world would be lined with dying plants if they were indeed susceptible to the lead emitted in car exhausts.

The results of experiments conducted in two greenhouses were even more surprising. A variety of plants were subjected to exhaust fumes under identical conditions. The only difference was that the fumes produced in one greenhouse were from lead-free petrol. In the other greenhouse the petrol contained lead.

The motors were run for periods of thirty minutes or one hour until the air was visibly full of fumes. The plants became stunted, displayed tissue necroses — the destruction of parts of the tissue cells — their chlorophyll content dropped, leading to the appearance of bright yellow patches on the leaves, and they developed at an abnormally slow rate.

But the plants in the greenhouse filled with petrol fumes containing lead were no worse off than those in the other greenhouse. Normally they were in a far better condition.

These findings are incomprehensible at first glance as they run counter to the popular belief that the lead in exhaust fumes causes a good deal of damange. But they were obtained after a series of experiments lasting several years. At least one thousand different types of plants were involved. They ranged from tobacco plants to beans, cucumbers and kohlrabi.

It is evident from these observations that the lead contained in petrol can no longer be described as generally harmful. Professor Ruge assumes that the lead compounds prompt unknown chemical reactions at some stage during the emission of the exhaust gases into the atmosphere.

The specific toxins that prove harmful to plants are thereby reduced or eliminated. In other words, the lead compounds act as catalysts to decontaminate motor exhausts!

At present this hypothesis is no more than a basis for further research which can only be undertaken with the aid of extensive chemical apparatus such as gas chromatographs to analyse motor exhausts at all stages of emission.

Professor Ruge's institute in Hamburg has not yet been granted the necessary money even though research of this type should be given the utmost priority in view of the emphasis placed on environmental problems in general and the question of lead in particular.

Ruge stresses that he has not presented his findings in order to play down the damage to the environment which may be caused by lead. Lead definitely has a toxic effect but there are doubts about whether simply banning lead from petrol is the best way to improve the environment.

The dangers to human beings of lead contained in exhaust fumes is not very great anyway. It usually enters the human body via plants and vegetables consumed and though plants growing alongside highways have a high lead content fifty to eighty per cent of it can be washed off.

Only some four per cent of the lead attaching to the plant penetrates the living tissue. Leaves that grow after the plant has been doctored with lead are completely lead-free. This seems to indicate that potatoes and corn will also be lead-free even if the mother plant grows in air with a high lead content.

The remarkable discovery of the protective effects of the lead contained in motor exhausts also demonstrates that we may be heading in the wrong direction when we merely combat lead pollution.

Before banning lead from petrol we should at least investigate what harmful substances in motor exhausts are decontaminated by the lead contained therein and examine whether these harmful components do not pose more danger to human beings and other mammals than the lead itself. Otherwise we may find ourselves throwing away the baby with the bath water, Professor Ruge comments.

*Harald Steinert*

(Die Welt, 13 July 1973)

■ ART

# Artists pay tribute to Picasso

An exhibition at West Berlin's National Gallery supplies graphic evidence of what famous artists think of the most famous artist the world has produced this century. Some fifty works have been commissioned for the exhibition – *Hommage à Picasso*.

Visitors to Berlin will be able to see the exhibition until the end of August. It will then be transferred to Hanover, Vienna, New York's Guggenheim Museum and other important art centres.

Visitors will also be able to buy a souvenir of the exhibition as 120 copies of each graphic work are being issued. The price for the complete series will amount to some fifty thousand Marks.

Propyläen-Verlag, Berlin, and Pantheon Press, Rome, are responsible for publishing this work. Wieland Schmied is the editor. Up to now he has been director of the Kestner Society and he was recently appointed head of the National Gallery.

Not all the works have been completed yet. Sixty in all are expected. The artists contributing come from seventeen different countries. They are also from different generations – more than half a century lies between the birthdates of the eldest and youngest.

The veterans include Joan Miró, André Masson, Edouard Pignon and Wilfredo Lam. Before his death Jacques Lipchitz contributed a floral lithograph with the inscribed wish that Picasso should become 120.

The youngest contributors were born when Picasso had already passed his fiftieth birthday (1931). They include Kitaj, Castillo, Christo, Arakawa, Jan Voss and Hervé Télémaque.

The Japanese artist Shusaku Arakawa has produced a seriograph which turns a detail from Courbet's painting *In the Artist's Studio* on its side and superimposes a fragmentary letter which reads "Dear Picasso. Hello. How are you? How is the family?" and also contains the request "Kiss me quick . . ."



Aquatint partly embossed, by Roberto Matta

This twelve-colour seriograph is one of the most beautiful and most original works on display. Another work that has been granted a good deal of attention is by British artist Richard Hamilton.

Hamilton presents a fascinating paraphrase of Velazquez's painting *Las Meninas* which Picasso himself used as a basis for a number of his own works.

The "pictor optimus" (best painter) stands at an easel amid his own creations and the left-hand side of his chest. He holds a paintbrush and palette and also sports a hammer and sickle, the insignia of a lived life, as Wieland Schmied puts it.

Picasso's fellow-countryman Castillo, who lives in Berlin, quotes Michelangelo. Picasso appears as God creating the world and mankind with a titanic paintbrush. Eduardo Pignon, as a true pupil of the master entitles his work simply as *Picasso Soleil*.

Melancholy and gaiety mingle in this exhibition. There are the gloomy works of Antoni Tápies (olive branches against a jet-black background) and R.B. Kitaj (a man in chains appears above the inscription "Greetings Pablo Ruiz").

Swiss artist Jean Tinguely plays with the letters of the name Picasso and Niki de Saint-Phalle, the only woman represented, salutes the master with gay, colourful Nanas sporting speech bubbles. American artist Roy Liechtenstein alienates the most common elements found in Picasso's paintings by subjecting them to his typical pop-art technique. Many artists restricted themselves to quoting from various of Picasso's works, varying his motifs or paraphrasing compositions from his Cubist period or later. *Guernica*, the Minotaurus series, doves of peace, Mediterranean scenes and the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* play a conspicuous role. Some of the artists – for example Max Bill, Nicholas Krushenik, Cy Twombly, Heinz Mack and Stefan Wewerka – have contributed graphical works which smack more of homage to themselves than Picasso. They quote themselves in their normal fashion.

These shortcomings are not surprising. The works were after all commissioned. The artists' spontaneity was encouraged with a good deal of money and persuasion.

The organisers of the exhibition played safe. Remarkably, few Germans are represented. Beuys and Grieshaber were among the few chosen. In the catalogue Wieland Schmied describes the exhibition in superlatives: "The contributors to what must be the most comprehensive and most impressive collections of graphic works belong to the most important, most respected, most influential and most-discussed artists of the century."

Werner Haftmann, the head of the National Gallery, also paid homage to *Hommage à Picasso* as an astonishing venture. It is almost certain that this form of tribute would have gained the approval of the dead master, he stated.

The National Gallery is presenting a number of its own Picasso works, including the early etching *The Scanty Meal* (1904), to complete the exhibition. A Picasso painting entitled *Nature Morte à Buffet* (1959) stands at the entrance to this section, demonstrating that Picasso himself paid homage to other artists and allowed himself to be influenced by them even when, like Bernard Buffet, they did not stand comparison with him.

*Werner Rhode*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 18 July 1973)



Woodcut by HAP Grieshaber



Etching by Jorge Castillo

(Photos: Katalog)

# Photographic art show opens in Hanover

Photography seems to be in vogue on the art scene if exhibitions in Hamburg, Basle, Recklinghausen, Wolfsburg and other cities is anything to go by. Hanover too has now organised an exhibition of photography as art.

Helmut R. Leppien has divided the exhibition at the *Kunstverein* into five sections – montage, paintings based on photography, photography as art, documentation and photopictures. He has only accepted items dating from after the pop-art era.

The division into five different categories is not clear-cut of course. A number of photographers can be found in more than one section. The montage section includes works by Jan Dibbets, Howard Kanowitz and Peter Roehr.

Frantz Gertsch, Howard Kanowitz and Gerhard Richter are included in the section featuring paintings based on photographs though Richter's Lexicon Photo Paintings produced for the last Venice *Biennale* crop up once again as photographs.

The third section – photography as art – consists of biographical items from French artist Boltanski, a female figure posed on a pedestal by Italian photographer Jannis Kounellis, finger exercises by Giuseppe Penone, portrait combinations by Sigmar Polke, Klaus Rinke's series of heads, a Salvo triptych, walk scenes by David Tremlett, television photos and video-recordings from Pierzgalski and Sonnier, a "picture frame identity inquiry" by Joseph Kosuth and further works by Dibbets and Roehr.

Beuys, Roth, Christo and Vostell supplied offset and seriographic out-prints for the processed photography section. This group's works are surrounded by Hamilton's photographic alienations, the pseudo-Biedermeier poses of the indefatigable Gilbert & George, facial distortions by Bruce Naumann and the fascinating grimace paintings of Arnulf Rainer.

The last two rooms are devoted to photography as documentation. Here visitors will find the land art photographs of Heizer, Long and Smithson, the photographic excerpts of actions and happenings by Beuys, Vostell and

Continued on page 11



■ PROFILE

# Herbert Marcuse – philosopher of the New Left

**He belongs to the triumvirate that makes up the Frankfurt School, alongside Adorno and Horkheimer. Herbert Marcuse was born in Berlin 75 years ago. Today he is Professor of Philosophy in California. In his writings that set out to remove the "contradiction between what is and what can be" Marcuse has become the theoretician of the New Left, of rebelling students the world over. This birthday tribute was written by Jean Amery, who is famous for his essays and novels on problems of literature, ideology and society *(Unsterbliche Wanderjahre, Über das Alter)*. Like Marcuse he is an émigré.**

It is not so easy to escape the spell of the personality of this man. I remember a discussion in Düsseldorf at which he and I were taking part. This tall, slim man with the steely white hair and the powerful voice had no trouble in dominating an audience that was by no means kindly disposed towards him from the outset. A DKP raiding party was there, but Herbert Marcuse quenched their fire by argument and sheer physical presence.

By chance the talk turned to the physical state of an elderly or aged person. I spoke of the burden of the body and its irreversible decay in old age.

Marcuse protested. He said that his body was still a source of worldly pleasure and not just an element of the fear of Death. His words were underlined by the vitality of the man, which came across well to those around him in a manner that could scarcely by equalled by anyone else who influenced intellectual and political thought in the late sixties. But enough of anecdotes.

The fashionable phenomenon of Marcuse is a thing of the past. Ten years ago he was described as the secret weapon of the New Left. Today the New Left has forgotten Marcuse and turned to other idols.

Marcuse remains Marcuse and is not inflated into something else. He is a philosopher of renown, a knowledgeable sociologist, a spokesman for those who reject the Establishment, writing their No with a capital N yet uttering their rejection of the powers-that-be with discrimination and subtlety.

Marcuse is a "man on revolt" rather than a real, and really effective, revolutionary. A critical voice and a great old man whose greatness was at first overestimated and today is sadly regarded as passé.

When American newspapers write about Marcuse they generally point out the German accent with which he speaks English. Herbert Marcuse (not to be confused with the equally great, equally German philosopher Ludwig Marcuse who died recently) is a descendant of one of those highly cultivated, completely assimilated German-Jewish families who made such a mark on the Berlin of the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Herbert Marcuse's education was typical: high school, university, cooperation at an academic institute – the famous Frankfurt Institute for Sociology run by Theodor W. Adorno (1903-1969) and Max Horkheimer (1895-1973).

Politically speaking he began as a Social Democrat in Germany, his career coming to an abrupt end with the Nazi takeover in 1933. Later he became disillusioned with the Social Democrats for their failure to take a reformist line and for their often unashamedly right-wing policies. He turned to an organisationally loosely bound radical left.

Philosophically he owes his origins to German Irrationalism, and this is still to be detected in some of his more recent writings. Not only the greatest and most dubious Constructive Metaphysician in Germany, Hegel, inspired him, he was also influenced by the young Martin Heidegger, who later paid his tribute to the Third Reich.

Marcuse's Marxist learning is occasionally described by hardened Marxists as being insufficient. Nonetheless Marcuse more than Adorno and Horkheimer ranks alongside Jean-Paul Sartre for reviving Marxism and as a figure of the period of corresponding philosophical imprinting of Marxism.

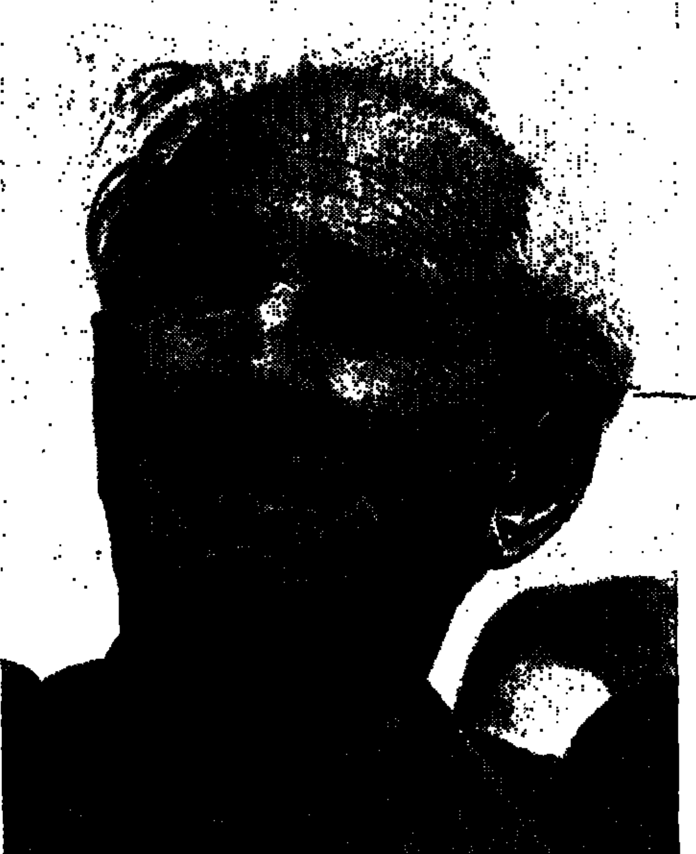
Emigration, which was forced on Marcuse because he was Jewish, moulded his external skills, which later proved decisive for his development.

He stayed for a short while in Switzerland, living in Geneva, then moved to America where he came face to face with fully-developed capitalism with all its unbridled excesses and its human dangers. At the same time, however, he turned his energies to the service of this capitalist State. The United States had to stand alongside the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in bearing the main burden of the fight against the arch-enemy in Berlin.

During the Second World War Marcuse worked for the Office of Strategic Services, which later became the Office of Intelligence Research. He worked on studies for the State Department and the CIA.

This is something that not only orthodox Communists, but also other radical Leftists have not forgotten. Once during a public meeting Danny Cohn-Bendit stood up and yelled at him: "Hey, Herbert, how much are the CIA paying you?"

It was probably during his CIA days that Herbert Marcuse came to see material that showed clearly the horrific face and spirit of the Soviet Union. The outcome of his reactions was crystallised in the harshly critical *Soviet Marxism* published in 1958 during the Cold War. However, while he was learning about Communism theoretically (if I am not mistaken he was never in the Soviet Union) his practical experience was gained in the midst of American Capitalism. The latter had a far more marked influence on Marcuse than the former and the anti-Communist and official of the American intelligence service became a much more radical anti-capitalist university lecturer. His extremism was greater than the world understood in the late sixties when he was fashionable.



Herbert Marcuse

(Photo: Barbara Klemm)

Marcuse's intellectual achievements can only be briefly summarised in this article, and thus I run the inherent risk of every simplification of painting an excessively black-and-white picture.

Marcuse is well known for inventing the slogan "major refusal". Gererally this is taken in puerile fashion at face value and is thus stripped of its sense. Marcuse became the great denier, the radical critic of that which has been termed "the Establishment" in the past fifteen years or so. Thus he became the spiritual leader of student revolt which spread from American universities over Europe and reached its peak in the Paris revolts of May and June 1968.

The works to which the rebellious students turned were *Der eindimensionale Mensch* (One-dimensional Man), *Eros und Zivilisation* and the pamphlet *Kritik der reinen Toleranz* (Criticism of pure tolerance) produced with the assistance of Paul Wolff and Barrington Moore. In all these books Marcuse worked from the basic fact of the great integrating force of capitalism or "the apparatus" which manages to control whatever forces of opposition arise, to incorporate them in the system and thus render them harmless.

The answer that Marcuse called for was the great refusal, the total rejection of all the enticements the system threw out. The main thing that probably marked him off from conventional Marxism was that he considered the work force had long since been absorbed into the system by means of "repressive tolerance" and that they were therefore incapable of making this major refusal. He placed all his hopes in peripheral groups. This was the truly original aspect of his philosophy.

He appealed to the American poor who were below subsistence level, to independent students, to hippies and to minority groups of various colours. For one historical moment he won over the student body and certain hippy groups. Many of the daubings on the wall of the Sorbonne in 1968 could have been quotations from Marcuse, such as the famous *prenez vos désirs pour des réalités.*

Wherever there were forces at work that were in conflict with the prevailing order, or disorder, Marcuse was the idol. His prophecy of the great refusal was relied upon. He promised a thousand-year Reich of freedom in a world without industrial pollution, sexual taboos, the rat-race and class.

Marcuse taught at the University of Berkeley in Califonia, but travelled widely, visiting Berlin, Paris, many of the places where revolt reared its head. He fired the masses of young people with his striking personality at least as much as with his teachings.

As I said, it was all short-lived. The activist groups, particularly in the Federal Republic, soon became highly dubious on account of their strongly idealistic and Existentialist-orientated philosophy, which did not stand up too well to the rigours of everyday political activity.

This country's left-wing radical students were soon demanding to be weaned on to solid food. The young people wanted to march in step, something that a man like Marcuse could never understand. In France Jean-Paul Sartre's political vision was moving in the direction of Maoism and Sartre became the new number-one idol.

Today Herbert Marcuse is no longer a political leading light. He has gone back to being a philosopher with a large reservoir of thoughts providing the food for thought and controversy which ennobles any philosophy.

*Jean Amery*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 19 July 1973)

Continued from page 10

Kounellis and the wing, feather and horn transformations of body artiste Rebecca Horn, a lyricist of body language.

The exhibition is quite comprehensive and even though the division into categories may seem arbitrary at times the various aspects of photographic art do overlap and indeed form one of the central problems of this genre.

It would certainly have been possible to organise a photographic exhibition according to the individual works' relationship to reality and imagination and not according to aspects of procedure.

Another question that must be asked is why none of the items on show are critical either in content or in relation to the medium itself. Did the last exhibition – "Art in the political struggle" – provide all the protest that the Kunstverein wants to display?

There is one final objection. Couldn't examples of photographic art have been found from the immediate neighbourhood of Hanover. The works of Timm Ulrichs, Wortelkampf, Michael Badura, Günter Vossiek and, going a little farther afield, the Berlin realists are just as good, if not better, than the non-committal works by Salvo, Pierzgalski and Sonnier.

*Peter Winter*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 July 1973)

# Frankfurt Book Fair

Chancellor Brandt is expected to visit the Frankfurt Book Fair on opening day 10 October as the most prominent speaker. According to the Printing Trade Association (Börsenverein) in Frankfurt this is the first time a Chancellor in office has agreed to speak at the opening of the Book Fair.

This year's book fair, according to the Börsenverein will be bigger than its predecessors both in terms of floor space covered and the number of exhibitors. The 1973 Fair will run from 10 to 16 October and exhibitors have applied from 56 countries.

Countries participating for the first time will be Bangla Desh, Burma, Guatemala, Senegal, Liberia and Rhodesia.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 27 July 1973)

■ CHILDREN

# Road accidents can disturb children psychologically

Some 1,500 children in the Federal Republic are killed on the roads every year, more than fifty thousand are injured. Road accident statistics list the dead and injured but nobody can count the number who seem to emerge from accidents without a scratch and yet suffer mental damage.

Only a fraction of them are given psychiatric or psychological treatment. Their behavioural disorders are often looked upon as misbehaviour, their poor school performances as the result of laziness or lack of ability. The links with their past experience of a road accident are not recognised.

Whether they are injured or not, whether they were involved or only looked on, accidents to children have completely different effects than accidents that occur to adults. They suffer additional torment if given hospital treatment. In serious cases the child recovers consciousness in an environment and situation that is both frightening and inexplicable to it.

Simio Todorow of Tubingen Neurological Hospital describes in a recent publication the thoughts of a child as it recovers consciousness in an intensive care unit:

"The accident suddenly tears the child violently from its normal life and the people it knows. It is transplanted into a completely alien world without any transition or connection.

"A tracheal tube is stuck in its windpipe, all four limbs are strapped to the bed. A number of tubes lead from its body to the infusion stands with their selection of bottles.

"A large number of wires leading from the equipment controlling the patient's physical data are attached to the child's body, red lights flicker and thin green snakes wiggle across the oscillograph screens.

"Figures dressed in white and blue move across the child's field of vision. They look very much like humans and speak a similar language to humans. But nobody appears to show any interest in the child. Nobody even turns to it.

"Whenever one of these figures does step across to the child, it does strange, usually unpleasant and often painful things to the child's body, inserting a tube in its mouth or chest, causing the child to cough, or injecting a dull yellow substance into its body via a tube stuck up its nose."

How is a child to interpret what it finds in this chamber of horrors? What is it to thing? "If a child tries to raise its arm in defence – as children do – it will find that it cannot move a muscle," Todorow writes.

"If a child desperately screams for its mother – as children do – it will be unable to raise a whisper. If the child knew what death was it would think it was dead and that this was hell," he comments.

Adults do no feel all that happy in a similar situation but at least they are able to provide a reasonable explanation of their environment. They do not feel as if they are a victim of a horror film directed by Alfred Hitchcock.

It does not take as much as an intensive care unit to make the child feel as if it is in another world. Reinhardt Lempp, the Tubingen psychiatrist, tells of a girl who at the age of eight suffered serious brain trauma after a holiday accident.

The girl was unconscious for weeks in a neurological hospital far away from her home. As so often happens, her parents were not allowed to visit her. When the girl finally recovered consciousness she was in a completely alien world where the people around her spoke in a different accent and she could not relate this to her previous experience.

Weeks later she was discharged. One of her first questions to her mother was: "Are things going to stay as they are or are they going to become different again?"

The child could not reconcile the separate worlds of the hospital and parental home in its mind. After it once woke up unexpectedly in the other world it is no longer certain that this abrupt change of scene will not recur.

It is extremely important for the child to see people it knows during a spell in hospital. "There is no doubt that the moment the child recovers consciousness in a strange environment or the period immediately afterwards is of considerable importance for the child's psyche, its ability to interpret the situation and consequently for its relationship with the world around," Lempp comments.

Children must therefore be helped to re-establish the continuity of experience and memory in order to consolidate their disturbed, or at least shaken, relationship to their environment.

This is one reason why parents or relations should be allowed to visit children in hospital – even when the child is in a state of actual or apparent unconsciousness. Even the "unhygienic" teddy bear can play a role here.

It is impossible to distinguish between the mental and physical pain felt by the child. Anna Freud pointed out that the extent of pain bears no relation to the seriousness of the illness but depends primarily on the mental conflict suffered by the child.

Professor Biermann of the Cologne Institute for Psychohygiene also claims that the extent of physical damage resulting from an accident bears no direct relation to the subsequent mental disorders.

Biermann states that three factors play an important role when a child has had an accident – the situation of the child before the accident, the loss of love suffered as a result of the accident and the aggravating strain following the accident.

Biermann bases his report on findings he obtained in an experimental group of thirty children. Twelve children's behaviour was described as completely normal by their parents – whereby rivalry with brothers and sisters in half the cases (fifteen) can be considered normal.

Five of the children had displayed personality changes such as an increased state of anxiety, difficulties in making contact with other children or inhibitions even before they were accident victims.

Eleven mothers were described as nervous, fearful or unstable, two as depressive. Seven mothers had developed a symbiotic relationship with their child. They were mainly mothers of only children, later children or the youngest of a family. The Oedipal situation intensified the symbiotic relationship.

Four children had already suffered a number of accidents in the household, on playgrounds or on the roads. In three of the families marital relations were shaky or there were other tensions due to drunkenness on the part of the father. One child came from a broken home. Strains of this nature seem to predestine children to become accident victims.

The loss of love as the result of an accident is an important factor, especially when a person the child loves is killed. Professor Biermann cited the example of a five-year-old girl who lost her grandmother in a motorway accident.

Though the child was not injured in the accident, her behaviour changed conspicuously, she became very quiet and cut herself off from the world around her. When she started school a year later, she was a day-dreamer and a failure.

A paediatrician was consulted and during the course of treatment the girl repeatedly drew a picture of her dead grandmother surrounded by people, animals and trees and guarded by an open-jawed crocodile in the foreground.

When the doctor spoke to the parents he found that they had left the grandmother's room as it was at the time of her death as a mark of respect. Though the girl had once been allowed to play there she was now no longer allowed to enter the room.

The parents were advised to let their daughter play in the room again. Shortly afterwards the child overcame its grief and no longer proved such a failure at school.

Aggression, growing fearfulness, bed-wetting and insomnia may occur when the child is unable to cope with its accident experiences. Other children develop a facial tic or can only be persuaded to cross a road after a long and careful process of reacclimatisation.

Headaches, stomach ache, biliousness and other complaints result when the child is frightened about travelling to and from school. Appropriate treatment can cause these symptoms to abate within the course of a few months. Children who are not treated could develop neuroses.

Parents must display patience, skill and sympathy. They must be given information about these dangers which few laymen realise can exist. Any parent will take a child with physical injuries to a doctor.

But what about the nine-year-old girl Biermann observed? She was sitting on the hard shoulder of a motorway watching the dead and the injured and was left alone until all the victims had been taken away.

This girl needed help even though she at first gave the impression that nothing had happened. Witnesses of accidents who notice children looking on in this way should, if their services are not required elsewhere, approach them in a friendly manner, calm their fears and, if possible, lead them away from the scene.

*Ruth Herrmann*

(Die Zeit, 13 July 1973)

## Fairy tales rehabilitated

Most children read fairy-tales at the turn of the century. Child psychologists regret that they have now been displaced by more realistic books or comic strips.

Psychologists do not believe that the criticisms levelled against fairy-tales are justified as it is this literary genre that acts as a panacea against innate fears. However, the stories must be chosen with regard to the age and mood of the individual child.

The moral of these old fairy-stories often stands in direct contrast with a number of educational aims that are considered paramount today, it is claimed. The stories often deal with murder and cruelty.

But scientists now express their doubt about their criticisms. Child psychologist Dr Ilse Pichottka of the Stern Institute, Munich, claims that fairy-tales are neither amoral nor uneducational nor should they be rewritten.

"Children have subconscious fears for which they seek concrete expression," she explains. "It is good for them to achieve this at the fairy-tale level. What is more, fairy-tales are always up to date, you only need to interpret their symbols correctly. They are not remote from reality either. Children are exposed to fear all the time, in much the same way as Hansel and Gretel, when their parents do not bother about them."

Dr Pichottka does not consider fairy-tales too cruel either: "In the real world there are far greater atrocities that cannot be concealed from the child. When watching television the child will learn of accidents, wars and crime. But the cruelty contained in fairy-tales is far more remote and at the end of every story law and order is restored and the child regains his sense of security."

At three or four children experience their environment with far more emotion and they also tend to have their own day-dreams. They believe for instance that their mother will not notice their lies as long as they tread in the centre of paving-stones and not on the cracks.

Dr Pichottka claims that parents should not curtail this phase of a child's development by providing rational explanations but should encourage it instead by telling fairy-tales which stimulate a child's imagination.

Professor Klaus Wechselberg and Dr Ulrike Puyn of Cologne University Children's Hospital also believe that fairy-tales are an ideal antidote to the innate fears a child feels at this stage in its development.

"Its imagination is given fresh stimulus," they explain. "Aggression is toned down and security and confidence that the world is good increased." If the child hears that brave fairy-tale characters always conquer wizards, witches and monsters it learns that the evil in this world can be overcome.

"The simplicity and one-sidedness of fairy-tale characters correspond to the child's view of the world," Dr Pichottka claims, refuting the belief that fairy-tales are harmful as they paint everything in black and white. An infant child cannot make subtle psychological distinctions anyway.

Sybill Gräfin Schönfeldt deals with the function of the fairy-tale in her book *Mutti, was soll ich lesen?* (Mummy, what shall I read?). According to her, Hansel and Gretel must be absolutely well-behaved, the witch can be nothing but evil and Little Red Riding Hood must be charming and helpful.

"Children understand this as well as the fact that evil deeds are punished," she explains. "Even if the mother is afraid to punish the child, a boy who takes his companion's bucket away from him at the sea-side will soon receive his deserts in the form of a well-aimed blow."

But parents should select fairy-tales carefully depending on the age and mood of the child. Sick, tired or melancholy children must be read different stories than healthy and happy children.

Professor Wechselberg and Dr Puyn advise parents to sit their children on their lap when reading fairy-tales to them. "If a child is left alone when watching a fairy-story on television or listening to one on a gramophone record it will be exposed to fear and evil and will have to experience and endure the hero's woes on its own," they add. *Lela Lappe*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 July 1973)



■ MEDICINE

# Medikinale 73 in Marburg awards 29 medical film 'Oscars'

Twenty-nine gold medal, very good, outstanding and first-rate medical training material awards were made to the best entries in a field of 130 medical training and refresher films and popular medical films and TV programmes from thirteen countries.

Thirty-eight awards were made to domestic and foreign medical journalists, doctors, directors, students and cineastes, and a further eight special prizes were awarded to the best director, cameraman, screen-writer and cartoonist.

These, then, are the bare statistics of the second international medical film contest arranged jointly by the International Green Cross in Geneva and the Federal Republic Green Cross and held in the old university town of Marburg. The medical film festival was entitled *Medikinale '73*.

The winner of this year's grand prix was the Japanese further education film for practising doctors, "The Brain and the Ulcer." A colour film supervised by Professor Masuda of Tokyo, it demonstrates by means of laboratory experiments on animals the influence of electrical stimuli on certain nerve centres that correspond to stress responses.

The Federal Medical Council's award for the film of greatest further educational value went to Dr Norman P. Schenker's "Coughing, Expectoration, Shortage of Breath," which deals with chronic bronchitis.

The prize awarded by the town of Marburg to the most effective educational film aimed at the general public went to Ekkehard Munck's "Symphony in G major," which deals in an amusing way with bad health habits.

The prize for the best medical information film awarded by a jury of medical journalists from this country was won by "The Fight against Cancer," a film commissioned by the Bonn Ministry of Health from Dr Georg Munck. A total of 29 gold medals were awarded to entries from America, Britain, France, Japan and this country. Dr Joseph Handler of Geneva, a member of the International Green Cross executive, described *Medikinale '73* as an extremely important festival for international medical training. He expressed the hope that the festival, which is to be held next in 1975, will again recognition as an international event of major significance, particularly for medical students.

(Fr. Rundschau, 13 July 1973)

## The Pill increases blood pressure

Women who take the contraceptive pill face the risk of increased blood pressure, the latest edition of the *Münchner Medizinische Wochenschrift* claims in a report entitled "Contraception, Pregnancy and Blood Pressure".

The report deals with a survey conducted among over seven thousand women aged between eighteen and sixty. A total of 1,941 of them took the Pill, 1,593 had once taken it and more than two thousand had never used contraceptive methods of this type.

Irrespective of the dosage or chemical composition of the contraceptive pills taken, it was found that women who took the Pill had higher blood pressure than the other women taking part in the survey. This was more obvious in the systolic than in the diastolic region.

During pregnancy or shortly afterwards, blood pressure was on average lower than that of women who did not take the contraceptive pill.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 July 1973)

## Nuclear medical check

Siemens have developed a special inspection device for nuclear check-ups on the thyroid gland, here seen being beamed at a patient. The accumulation of radioactive iodine in the thyroid gland is automatically measured over various periods of time and directly screened as a percentage. This figure immediately shows the doctor in charge whether the thyroid is functioning normally or it is over- or underactive. The radioactive iodine dose that sheds light on the patient's condition is taken beforehand in what is termed a cocktail. The amount of radioactive matter actually imbibed is so small that the health hazard is nil.

(Photo: Siemens)

**■ OUR WORLD**

# Round the world plane record

SüddeutscheZeitung

Herbert Bauder, 39, a car salesman from Hanover, has just returned from circling the world in the northern hemisphere in a single-engine Beech Bonanza.

It took him 18 stages to do the 41.000 kilometre flight and he claims that this is the first time in the history of aviation that this has been achieved. He has already applied to have his achievement recorded at the Paris-based international aviation association.

Bauder enthused: "It was fantastic and sometimes very adventurous. The excitement began on the first stage of the flight to Brindisi, when I had to fly over the Alps in a heavy storm. And the next day we were caught up in a sandstorm in Baghdad.

The flight route was Brindisi, Beirut, New Delhi. Hong Kong, Singapore, Manila, Taipeh, Tokyo, Anchorage, Winnipeg, Ottawa, Goose Bay, Reykjavik, Prestwick, Bristol, Paris, Hanover.

Bauder wanted to do the trip in two months but it took three because he became involved in red tape in Japan. The Japanese insisted that he should be accompanied by a Japanese co-pilot and that the German co-pilot, who had been with Bauder from the start of the trip would have to drop out.

The Federal Republic ambassador in Tokyo took up the matter with the Japanese authorities but it still took two weeks before approval was given. Then he had to wait a further two weeks before he could take off from a certain Japanese airfield, required to comply with world record regulations.

Bauder commented: "The most difficult part of the trip was from northern Japan to Alaska. We flew at 3,000 metres and it took thirteen hours fifteen minutes to cover the 3,600 kilometre stretch, all the time over water. We flew along the Russian frontier, over the Kuriles and Kamchatka. We landed in Adak in Alaska, where we were accompanied by the red glow of the midnight sun. We were given a great welcome by the American marines stationed there."

In Canada the machine was inspected to see if it was capable of making the Atlantic. Bauder had to produce his licence to fly on instruments only.

The four-seater plane was re-designed so that reserve tanks of petrol could be carried to enable the plane to stay in the air for 15 flying hours – 750 litres of aviation fluid.

Bauder has thirty stamps in his pass. He cannot say just how much his world record cost him, "because I have not yet received all the bills." He intends to write a book about his exploit. *Josef Schmidt*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 4 July 1973)

Herbert Bauder (right) with co-pilot Harald Wendler

(Photo: Prom

## Central clinic for drunks in Hamburg

A central outpatients department for alcoholics is to be established in Hamburg in September, or at the latest in October, the first of its kind in the Federal Republic.

The project has been planned as a result of four deaths that have occurred in Hamburg since May 1971 in the cells of Hamburg police. No medical attention was available for the victims and the police did not realise the arrested persons were in a serious medical condition because of their drunken state.

More than 4,670 persons had to be apprehended by the Hamburg police last year for drunkenness. Hamburg police authorities then proposed to city officials that drunks and alcoholics were sick people basically and had no place locked up in a station cell to sober out.

Hospitals are not particularly able to look after "helpless persons" as officialese describes drunks and alcoholics, so the Hamburg Senate, following ideas that have been introduced in Sweden, decided to set up an outpatients department for alcoholics and persistent drunkards.

The department will be staffed by a doctor, nurse, ward orderly and three police officers working in three shifts round the clock.

A disused police station has been renovated at a cost of 150,000 Marks and furnished with 30 beds. A budget of 600,000 Marks has been allocated to pay for supplies and staff salaries.

The special outpatients departments could have opened its doors in June but the Hamburg city health department was not able to recruit staff. Doctors and nursing staff are not too keen on working continuously with drunks and alcoholics who are prone to becoming obstreperous. A bonus of 35 Marks per shift as offered in addition to the usual salary, but this was found to be considered inadequate.

The Hamburg health authorities hope that the new opening day scheduled for September will be kept to.

*Hinrich Grote*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 4 July 1973)

## Road deaths down

For the first time in years the number of road deaths and injured has declined, the Federal Statistics Office in Wiesbaden reports. In the first quarter of this year 3,657 people were killed and 109.164 injured in some 317,000 traffic accidents.

In comparison with the figures for the first three months of 1971 the number of road deaths was 9.7 per cent down and the number of injured represented a decrease of 2.6 per cent.

(Die Welt, 30 July 1973)

## The loners

Is the Federal Republic well on the way to becoming a nation of widows and people living alone? This is the impression gained from a recent report issued by the Federal Statistics Office, Wiesbaden.

Figures revealed that between 1957 and 1971 the number of single-person households had increased by no less than 82 per cent. The figures for households with two or more persons had, on the other hand, only increased by twelve per cent.

The total number of households of only one person had increased from twenty to 27 per cent. One hundred years ago the figure was only six per cent.

The wish of the necessity to live alone appears in figures for all age groups, for men and women. It is most evident however among senior citizens over the age of 65. In this age group every third person lives alone, and at this age group every other person living alone is a woman.

It is an oversimplification to say that the reason for this is the massive industrialisation that has gone on in our society over the past hundred years, although it is true to say that one of the consequences of this industrialisation has been isolation which has brought in its wake considerable social problems.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 18 July 1973)

## Dearer motoring

People in this country now spend more on their motor car than they do on their home, according to a survey carried out by the petroleum industry.

In the past two years the costs of running a car have gone up twenty per cent with increased charges for petrol and motor insurance, higher costs for buying a car and increased costs for extras and spares as well as repairs.

Petrol prices have gone up generally by 5.6 Pfennigs per litre to cover the increases in petrol tax from July. This means that high octane is now costing 80 Pfennigs a litre.

The recent increase in petrol tax means that the State has imposed an extra 10 Pfennigs tax on petrol over the past sixteen months.

Petrol companies were able to pass on only three Pfennigs of the four Pfennigs imposed. Because of the bitter competition among petrol companies they have only been able to recoup one Pfennig of the ten Pfennig tax increase.

Petrol in this country at 80 Pfennigs a litre for high octane is now the dearest in Europe, and with 50 Pfennigs being collected for every litre by the government this country now has the heaviest taxed petrol.

Of every Mark a motorist pays for petrol 70 Pfennigs is tax and 30 Pfennigs is for the product.

(Die Welt, 2 July 1973)

## 'Living in sin' no longer shocks

One person considers that when a young man lives with a young girl without going through the rituals of marriage that this is a sign of the moral decay of our times, but another person thinks quite the opposite.

In 1973 the position is that every other citizen in this country is not in the least shocked at such relationships that have not been given the approval of formal marriage ceremonies, according to a survey conducted by the Allensbach Institute.

People over sixteen years of age in the Federal Republic and West Berlin were asked: "Do you think it is going too far when a young man and girl live together without getting married or are you in no way shocked by this?"

Only a third of those questioned said that this was going too far (31 per cent). Nineteen per cent adopted a middle-of-the-way position and replied, "That all depends."

Women took a more belligerent attitude at such a relationship than men – 35 per cent were of the view that it was going too far, but 45 per cent took the view that there was no need to get excited about such a situation. Men took a more liberal view – only 26 per cent were of the view that living together without the benefit of marriage "was going too far" and 55 per cent said that they could see nothing wrong with it.

Those who held the view that it was a matter of no consequence when they heard that a young couple were living together without being married were mainly aged 16 to 29. A total of 78 per cent of this age group took this view. In this group only eight per cent took the traditional view that living together was to be disapproved of. With the increase of age there was an increasingly strong disapproval of couples living together without being married.

For example 58 per cent of those questioned in the sixty and over age group disapproved. Only twenty per cent in this age group were not shocked when a young couple set up house together without being married.

Single people were inclined to be liberal. On the other hand, especially among the elderly and widowed there is a feeling (53 per cent) that living together on these terms is not right.

Examined along religious lines 51 per cent of Protestants said that they had no objections to such a relationships and 45 per cent of Catholics were not disapproving.

People living in cities are much less disapproving of couples living together without being married than are people living in rural areas. In the country 42 per cent say trial marriages are going too far. Only 36 per cent raised no objection. The bigger the city the greater the likelihood that citizens would see nothing wrong with cohabitation. In the biggest cities 59 per cent raised no objection to "marriage" without a certificate and only one in five finds it wrong.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 July 1973)



**■ SPORT**

# Gerd Müller turns down million-dollar transfer bid

DIE WELT

Football fans in this country, not to mention DFB chief coach Helmut Schön, can breathe a sigh of relief. Seventeen Federal league goalkeepers will have had mixed feelings on hearing the news that Gerd "Bomber" Müller has decided against a transfer to Barcelona worth several million Marks.

Müller's manager Erwin Nehl rang up the Spaniards at a quarter to eleven on the evening of 12 July. "Herr Müller," he announced, "intends to remain under contract to Bayern Munich."

By the terms of his current contract, renewed in May last year until 1975, Müller earns a guaranteed monthly income of roughly 25,000 Marks.

The Spanish bid was far higher. One million dollars for a three-year contract. Even with erratic exchange rates this is still some 2.4 million Marks, 800,000 a year or 65,000 a month, and Spanish taxes are far less punitive than surtax in this country.

Here Gerd Müller pays income tax at a rate of some sixty per cent on both his direct and indirect earnings from advertising and insurance revenue.

His manager Erwin Nehl is a close acquaintance of Bavarian Finance Minister Dr Ludwig Huber. Nehl runs the Gerd Müller Agency from an office in Romanplatz, Munich, where the various facets of Gerd Müller's business activities are managed.

With the World Cup to be held in this country next year Müller stands to earn a fair amount of money by staying put, yet, as Nehl put it, the Spanish bid was a tempting one.

Erwin Nehl feels he deserves some of the credit for persuading Müller to stay in this country. Whether he was concerned more with the future of football in this country than with his own future as Müller's manager is open to conjecture. At all events Müller is staying put. Gerd Müller himself does not have much to say on the subject. "There were personal reasons, and consideration for the national team, of course." Personal reasons may be taken to mean Müller's misgivings about quitting his home in the Munich suburb of Strasslach and making the change to another environment, another climate and another mentality together with his wife Uschi and their baby girl Nicole

Consideration for the national team no doubt applies in part to the phone call between Müller and DFB chief coach Helmut Schön the day before.

Schön will presumably have told Müller what he would have like to tell Günter Netzer. "Go if you must, you must know what is best for you, but it would clearly be better for the national team if you were to stay in this country. You cannot be sure of a permanent place in the team, particularly when you are under contract to a foreign club, with all the difficulties that the change involves."

This conversation did not take place between Schön und Netzer. Between Schön und Müller it – or something like it – did, and after talks with Bayern Munich chairman Wilhelm Neudecker the following day Müller began to feel less and less easy about the idea of leaving behind his home in Bavaria and moving to Spain. Bayern made no further financial concessions to its undecided ace goal-scorer, but it may be assumed that everything possible is being done outside the club proper to ensure that the net loss is kept to within reasonable limits. The club chairman's contacts extend to well-to-do members of the business community. Müller's manager is on the best of terms with a Bavarian Cabinet Minister. Müller, Nehl and Ermando Caraben of Barcelona met for final talks in Munich's premier Bayrischer Hof hotel. Caraben very much needed to sign on Müller for his club. Weeks ago he made an unsuccessful bid for Johan Cruyff of Ajax Amsterdam and rivals Real Madrid have now signed on Günter Netzer of Mönchengladbach.



Gerd Müller in action

(Photo: dpa)

Munich was well aware of these facts and Bayern's coach Udo Lattek feared the worst. "My God," he surmised, "instead of buying wingers they are going to sell our ace goal-scorer. We will have to change our whole approach."

Gerd Müller asked for time to think and thought matters over together with his few real friends.

Unlike Franz Beckenbauer he has never been keen on society with a capital "S." He has the same circle of friends now as he had years ago as a small-town footballer in Nördlingen, Swabia. He is not a man for dinner jackets and bright lights.

In this respect he has much in common with Uwe Seeler of Hamburg. He is an ordinary man, the sort you would always address by his first name. No one could possible hit on the idea of nicknaming him "Kaiser" as they do Kaiser Franz Beckenbauer.

He has come to the same decision as Uwe Seeler when confronted with the choice too. "Herr Müller," his manager is quick to point out, "has refused an offer worth a great deal of money."

Erwin Nehl realises nonetheless that Gerd Müller's decision to say with Munich has earned him a substantial fund of goodwill.

*Jo Viellvoye*

(Die Welt, 14 July 1973)



**European dressage champion**

Dr Reiner Klimke of Münster, riding the twelve-year-old Hanover stallion Mehmed, repeated his 1967 European championship victory in the dressage event at Aachen, superseding the 1969 and 1971 title-winner Liselott Linsenhoff, also of this country. (Photo: Werek)

Football transfer bid girls Monika Bädorf and Christa Nüsser

(Photo: Werek)

# 50,000-Mark transfer bid for girl footballers

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Small fry they may be in comparison with the still famous legs of Marlene Dietrich, but this is not to say that there is anything wrong with the muscular appendages of Monika Bädorf and Christa Nüsser. Their market value has just not reached the Olympian heights of Marlene's legs – yet.

Even so, ACF Padua of Italy have offered the two girls a transfer fee of 50,000 Marks, and although the Italians are as appreciative of a pair of attractive legs as anyone it is their athletic prowess that is the attraction.

Christa Nüsser, a nineteen-year-old schoolgirl from Cologne and a keen football player who embarked on her football career in Mülheim and now plays for Bonn, is an ace centre-forward and goal-scorer.

When she first heard of the offer to go to Italy and turn professional she thought it was a joke. Now she is intrigues by the idea. The same goes for Monika Bädorf, an eighteen-year-old department store assistant.

Brunette Monika's talent in defence and blonde Christa's goal-scoring prowess are a marketable commodity as far as the Italians are concerned. Were they to accept the offer they would be the first women footballers from this country to turn professional and cross the Alps.

The transfer bids represent incontrovertible evidence that women footballers have now drawn level with the men. The world of professional football is now open to them.

In addition to the transfer fee, which would be frozen in a German bank account, the two girls would earn 2,500 Marks a month or so in Padua and work in the neon lighting factory of football patron Gemma. Most of their time would be spent playing football, of course.

In order to ensure that everything is above board and their daughters do not end up in Tangiers earning their money in a rather different occupation, the parents are off to Padua to see for themselves how the girls will live.

Twenty years ago, many a male football player would have headed for Italy like streak lightning for a transfer fee of 50,000 Marks. Times certainly change! *Jörg Wigand*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 3 July 1973)